Oriental

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS,

IN THE TAMIL LANGUAGE:

TRANSLATED;

WITH ANNOTATIONS.

By WILLIAM TAYLOR, Missionary.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

MADRAS.

1835.

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N. B.—The following names of Native Gentlemen, which were erroneously printed in the first volume, are here correctly given.

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T. Balasoondara Moodelliar, *Head Conocopillay*, Commissariat Department, Bangalore

*** No other errors in the former List of Subscribers have been communicated to the Editor.

The issue of this second volume has been unavoidably delayed beyond the period originally announced, within which the completion of the work was expected by the Editor; but it is hoped that the delay, besides being of no great consequence in itself, will be the more readily pardoned on account of the increased quantity of original information which it has been the means of introducing; to the setting aside of matter not so entirely novel, and likely, by consequence, to have been less interesting. In connexion with this remark, and adverting to p. xvi. of the Preface in the first volume, the Editor has great pleasure in acknowledging the favor done to him by giving him free access to the Mackenzie MSS. in the College of Fort St. George, under charge of the Auxiliary to the Royal Asiatic Society. This access he immediately owes to two gentlemen, high in the civil service, and both connected with the College. The obligation conceded will be found to be acknowledged in another part of this volume, but it demands an express and more conspicuous mention here.

The Editor is also under much obligation to another accomplished orientalist, in the judicial branch of the civil service, for bringing to his notice, and lending to him, Professor Wilson's Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie MSS. at a most suitable time, and when he was not aware of its existence; so that, owing to the retired and differing nature of his previous habits and studies, he had commenced in a new channel of research, without being fully aware how much had been before done in the way of facilitating progress. It will be perceived that the Editor owes a large tribute of thanks to Professor Wilson; and though he has occasionally thought it needful to question a few of that profound Sanscrit scholar's conclusions, or at least to hesitate in yielding full consent, yet this has always been under a full feeling of his own personal inferiority, and in entire deference, mingled with high respect. One position relating to the remote origin of the Pandion kingdom, being that to which the most decided objection was felt, as opposed to several authorities, having been traced to its source, was found to have no warrant or existence in the Manuscript on which its authority was made to rest; and there

must, consequently, have been a mistake in the information on which Mr. Wilson necessarily depended, from his admitted want of acquaintance with the Tamil language. This circumstance, however important in its relation to the immediate subject of this work, is a trifle when viewed in connexion with the whole of the Professor's labors, as exhibited in his Descriptive Catalogue. Among the Mackenzie MSS. at the College, no documents bearing on the *Pandiya-desam* have been found at all worthy of comparison with the three leading ones in this work; that is, to the best of the Editor's judgment on this point. The most valuable of them is the Telugu Manuscript, translated, towards the close of this volume; owing to the fulness of its details; though not ascending beyond a comparatively very modern date. There is also another MS., that is the *Pandiya-rajakal*, the contents of which are like a very brief abstract of those in our three leading MSS. already referred to, but having a few additional details on the obscure period between the decline of the ancient Pandion dynasty, and commencement of the modern Carnataca line of princes. It would therefore have been gladly introduced into the first volume of this work, as its proper place, had it been known to exist, and to be available. The want of it however is no important deficiency; for its contents, on that one point, have been very nearly come at, by inference and approximation, from other sources, in this second volume. As to other ancient kingdoms, there is a great mass of comparatively unexplored information contained in the College Manuscripts—some of them, unhappily, in rapid progress towards illegibility, or decay—the full developement of which would require patience, assiduity, and time, from the person on whom the task might devolve. Owing to the restricted measure of personal investigation as yet made, by the writer of these observations, any further remarks on the same point would be improper or premature.

The work of translation, thus far laid before the public, was materially induced, or accelerated, by a paper of Desiderata and Enquiries connected with the Presidency of Madras, put forth by the Royal Asiatic Society. Under the head of History, enquiries are made after details of

the overthrow of the Jains by the Bramins—a correct history of the race of princes south of the Coleroon, with particular reference to the "able civil policy and splendid religious establishments of Trimul-Naig"—the origin of the southern Poligars—invasion of the south-eastern Peninsula by the Mahomedans and Mahrattas—the recovery of MSS. from natives, with translations relating to the ancient government of the Pandiyan, Chola, and Chera, dynasties—genealogies of dynasties and considerable families—tales and popular stories, sometimes containing correct information of remarkable characters and events—lastly, *Mahatmyams* and *Stalla-Puranas.* So soon as the reader has made himself generally acquainted with the contents of these two volumes, he will not fail, it is believed, to perceive, that these desiderata are, to a considerable extent, supplied by this work alone; while as further regards the southern Poligars, the Mahrattas, genealogies of families, tales, legendary *Mahatmyams* and *Stalla-Puranas*, there is yet behind, in the Mackenzie collection at Fort St. George, made ready to hand, a copious and almost exhaustless store, enough to give five years of entire and incessant occupation to any individual, who might possess the qualifications, and the will, to take upon himself the arduous responsibility of developement in detail.

The Translator and Editor of these Historical Manuscripts has now come before the public in a mode, and to an extent, which he at one period in no degree contemplated. Except under peculiar circumstances, he would have shrunk back from the task; and, except under such circumstances, he could not have had time or leisure for its performance. The whole is something like the digression, or relaxation, of a year from the higher calls of duty; but though it be such, he yet retains a strong impression of its indirect bearing on higher matters; without which conviction, he could neither have entered on it, nor have been cheered forward in progress under difficulties and impediments. He is sensible that the work is not perfect; and for defects perceived, or discovered too late to be remedied, which may be very obvious to others, he requests the exercise of consideration and candour, with only so much of approbation, for the guiding motive of the whole, as would content his moderate, and

he trusts modest, expectations. To diffuse original information, and that too being of a character calculated to exert an important, though indirect, bearing on the improvement and religious benefit of the natives of the Peninsula, is the motive in question. In order to obviate any possibility of mistake, it may be expedient briefly to state, that the patronage kindly afforded to the undertaking, though considerable and very obliging, has simply sufficed to cover most probably the charges of the work, after deducting gratuitous copies, expenses of transmission, and loss by the unfaithfulness of one agent employed at Bangalore, though greatly obliged by some friends at other distant places. From the amount already disbursed in advance, or yet remaining to be paid, the collection of the proceeds from the work will leave, if any, a very insignificant surplus; which, whatever it may be, has in purpose been devoted to a public charitable object; but which surplus would not be worth the mention, considered as a compensation for time and labor employed, were the motives of the publication sordid; or were the Editor pressed by those personal or family necessities, that sometimes urge authors or editors, when higher inducements are wanting. At the same time, since he could not have escaped a heavy pecuniary mulct, as the penalty of his temerity for undertaking such a work without guarantee or support from any public body, he feels that he is in no common degree bound to acknowledge the liberal private patronage extended by those, who could expect no adequate return, and must have been influenced by a desire to promote the interests of general literature, and to prevent an individual, desiring to add to it some portion of original information, from sinking under the pressure of public discouragement. To these gentlemen a tribute of thanks is rendered, as cordially as it is unquestionably due. They will honor the writer by considering it acceptable.

Coleman's Garden, Madras, October, 1835.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

CARNATACA DYNASTY.

CONNECTIVE SURVEY.

MIRTANJEYA MANUSCRIPTS.

SELECTED EXTRACTS AND TRANSLATIONS FROM THE MACKENZIE MANUSCRIPTS.

APPENDIX: containing,—

AN INQUIRY CONCERNING THE EARLIEST LOCATION OF MANKIND AFTER THE DELUGE.

DESCRIPTION OF KAILASA AND VAICONTHA.

PROVERBS OF KING ATHIVIRA-RAMEN.

GEOGRAPHICAL TRANSLATIONS.

SCHEDULE OF SELECT MACKENZIE MANUSCRIPTS.

EXTRACT FROM THE CENTUM OF VERSES OF MANAVALA-NARRAYANEN, ON POLITICAL ORDER AND ECONOMY.

NARRATIVE OF THE KINGS OF CEYLON, AND CHRONICLE OF THE SETHUPATHIS OF RAMNAD.

HISTORY OF THE CARNATACA GOVERNORS WHO RULED OVER THE PANDIYA MANDALAM.

SECTION 1.—*Legendary circumstances relating to the parentage, birth, and early life, of Visvanatha-Naicker.*

VIZIANAGARAM-PENU-KONDAI-PATNAM was, for many years, the capital of the *Rayer*, whose government extended over the fifty-six kingdoms. In his reign, he had forty thousand cavalry, four thousand elephants, and ten thousand camels. He had a principal officer, or general, named *Nagama-Naicker*, who had charge of them; who also had, of his own, six thousand cavalry, and twenty thousand infantry. For the support and maintenance of this retinue, the *peishcush* from the several tributaries, from Arcet down to Travancore, was transferred to *Nagama-Naicker;* which tribute he regularly collected from them.

While matters were thus, *Nagama-Naicker* was long childless. Desirous of an heir to succeed him after his death, he at length thought of going on a pilgrimage to Casi; and having proceeded thither accordingly, with considerable wealth, he made liberal donations, and performed every act of charity: in addition to which, he and his wife bathed daily and regularly in the river *Ganga;* abstained from their customary food, and took only three handfuls of boiled rice, without salt; and were day and night worshipping in the sanctuary of *Visvanatha-Svami,* in a state of strict penitence and devotion.

After the lapse of forty days, thus passed in the presence of the *Svami,* the god appeared at night in a dream, and said, "You are thus worshipping me. In consequence, to-morrow you shall have a sight of me in the river *Ganga;* after which you may return to your country, and you shall have a child." Obeying this order,

பாணடியமணடலததிலகாருடகததுரையள ராசசியம ஆணடபேர்களுடைய செ யதிகள என்னவென்ருல அமபததாறுதேசததுககுமராசாவாகியராயரவர்களவிசையந கரமபெனுகொணடைபபடடணததிலிருநதுராசசியபரிபாலினமபணணிகொணடிரு ககயில அவர்களிடததில நாகமனுயககரவர்கள தோசெகாணு அதிகாரமாய இருநதார் தோசெகானதிகாரமாவதுராயருடையசொநததததபெலா நாறபதினுயிாமகுதிரையும நாலாயிாம்யானையும்பதினுயிாம் ஒடடகையும் நாகம நாயககர்விசாரணைவிசாரணைகுள ளெயிருககுமயிதுவலலாமல நாகமனுககர்சொநததததிலஆருயிரஙகுதிரை இருபதிநாயி ரம்சனம்வசசுகொணடிருநதார் இதுககு ஆர்ககாடடுசசீர்மை முதலநாஞசி நாடுவரைக கும்அநதநததேசததுததோபபாபணஙகளெலலாந தோசெகானசிககு நாகமனுய ககருக்கு அடமானமாயபணஞசெணறுவருகிறது அபபடியிருககயிலநாகமனுயககருக குவெகுனளாயபபிளளையளிலலாமல அனெகநதிரவியமெடுததுக்கொணடுகாசிககுப போயததானதறமஙகளபணணி நாகமனுயககரும் அவர்பெண்சாதியுநதினசரிகெங கையிலததானம்பணணி உபபிலலாமலப பசசரிசிசசாதம்மூனுகவளஞசாபபிடடுப போடடுகாசிவிசுவனுதசுவாமிசனனதியிலராததிரியும்பகலும்பிராறததிசசுககொணடு தபசிருநதார்கள அபபடி இநதபபிறகாரம் நாறபதுனாள வரைககுஞசனனதியிலிருக கையிலசுவாமிராததிரிசசொறபனததிலெவநதுநம்மைநீஙகளபிராறததிசசுககொனடி ருககுறீயளெ நாளை உஙகளுககுககெஙகையிலததெரிசனநதருகுறோம் உஙகளுக குப பிளளை உணடாகுமெனறுஉளருககுபபோகசசொலலிஉததாரமாசசுது அநதபபடிககு மறுனளுதையததிலககெஙகையிலவநதுததானம்பணணுகையில முழஙகாலிலககலலு பபடடுதுஇநததுறையிலககலலுததயககுதேயெனறுமறுதுறையிலஸதானம்பணணி னர்களஅநததுறையிலுமநதபபடிதானேகலலுததயததுதுஇஙகையுஙகலலுததயக குதேயெனறுமூனுதுறையிலபபோயமுளுகினர்களநததுறையிலுமநதபபடிககெ கலலுததயததுஇதுயெனனவெனறுதடவிபபாறகிறவரையிலஒருபசசைமரகதலிஙகம் கஙகையிலகபபடடுதுஅதைசசுவாமிசொறபனததிலசசொனனபடிககுபபிறததியட்ச மானுரொனறுரொணடுகையயிலெயெடுததுககொணடு அவர்களுடைய இதாஸததானம் ராயரவர்களிடததிலவநதுசேநதார்களசிறுதுனளைக்குபபிறகுநாகமனுயக்கருக்குக்கு மாரனபிறநதுது அநதககுளநதைககுவிசுவனுதனுயககனொனறுபெரிடடு அவருககுசசு வாமிபிறசாததினுலெபிறநதவரானதினுலெ அவருககுஒருனளைககொருனளபபடிப

the next morning they went to bathe in the river; and then found something, as if a stone, strike against their knees. They said this place is rocky, and immediately removed to another part of the river, where they also met with the like circumstance. They then removed to another part of the river, and experienced just the same. Surprised at this unusual occurrence, they reflected, what can this be? and searching the bed of the river with the hand, took up an emerald, in the form of a *Lingam.* Recollecting the dream, they said, the god has thus shewn himself to us as he promised; and, taking it up in their hands, they carried it back with them to the *Rayer*, and to their former place of abode.

Nagama-Naicker was in due time blessed with a son, to whom he gave the name of *Visvanatha-Naicker*, after the name of the *Svami;* and, as he was considered to be a gift immediately from God, nothing was omitted by the father to improve, by daily exercise, the education of his son, and to render him able and intelligent. He was also taught fencing, and the use of all weapons. When he attained his sixteenth year, he was admired for the beauty of his person, and his natural as well as acquired knowledge, and was in every respect accomplished.

Shortly after, the *Nava-rattiri* festival occurred. In this capital was the temple of a *durga* (or goddess), to which a festival was annually dedicated; and it terminated with the offering of a wild buffalo to the goddess on the tenth day. This buffalo was generally hunted for in the jungle, by the prince of the kingdom, and usually taken in a net. On the eighth day of that year, the *Rayer*, as usual, went with his hunting party into the woods, which abounded with wild buffalos; and having chased them, a buffalo was reported to be caught in the snare laid for it by the huntsmen. This buffalo was remarkable for the strength and length of its horns, which bended backwards and reached to its tail; consequently the *Rayer* and his principal officers were much concerned at the improbability of sacrificing it with one blow, as would be needful: since a failure in this point would be a sure indication of some catastrophe, unfavorable to the future prosperity of the kingdom, according to a current tradition long since established. Great doubts were entertained whether it would be, by any means, possible, at one blow, to sever the head of this animal from the body; for it was thought by the *Rayer* and his counsellors, that even repeated

புசிலமபமறறஆயுதபபரிசசையளெலலாம்சாதகம்பணணி வெகுவிதானனாகவுமரூப
வானனாகவுமிருநதார்வயசும்பதினாருசசுதஇபபடிஇருககையிலநவராததிரிமகா நவமிப
னடிகைவநதது அநதராயர்சமஸ்ததானமாதியிலநதயிடததிலதஙகுறகிபபிறதிடடமா
யஅநதசசமததானமஉணடான அனனாமுதலவருஷாவருஷம் நவராததிரி முனனாககு
அநதபபட்டமானாகிறராயர்காடடிலெவெடடைககுபபொயவலையளகடடிககாடடுஎரு
மைககிடாவைபபிடிததுவநது அநதததுறகியமமனாககுபபெலிகொடுததுதுறகியயம
மனைநிறுததிநவராததிரிபபததினாளும் பூசைபணணாகிறது அநதவருஷம்ராயர் வெட
டைககுபபொயககாடடெருமைக்கிடாவையும்பிடிததுககொணடுவநததிலஅநதஎரு
மைக்கிடாவுககுககொமபுபெருசாயபபினனெவளநதுவாலவனாககுமிருநதது அபப
டியாககொறறமாடுபிடிததுவநததிலஅநததுறககிககுபெலிககொடுககிறபொதுஅந
தமாடுஒரொவெடடிலெரொணடு துணடமாகவினாகவெணாம் அபபடிவிழாதெபொனால
அநத சசமஸ்தானததுககுககுறைவருமெனபதாய ஆதிமுதல சசஙகலபபமாகபபட்ட
து அபபடியிருபபதிலஇநதககாடடெருமைககிடாவையுங கொமபையும்பாததுஇது
கததி வெடடுககு ஒருவெடடி லறுதெளததனைவெடடுவெடடினாலும்வினாகாதெ இதை
வெடடமாடடார்களென றுராயருமிருக்கிறகாரியக்காறரும்பாததுரொம்பவிதனபப
டடுககொணடுஒருகாலததிலெயுமிபபடிசகிடாவநததிலலை இதை ஒரு வெடடாக வெட
டாதவனாயிலநமமுடைய சமஸ்தானததுககுஆட செபமலலாவாவெனறு ராயருமறறு
முணடாகியககாரியககாறரும்இதுவெஆலோசினையாக இதுககுஎனனசெயவொமென
றுஇருககையிலநததததுறகியயமமனவிசுவனாதனாயககர்சொறபனததிலவநது அநதககி
டாவைநீவெட்டுகிறேமென்கிறதாயராயரிடமவநதுபெசிராயர்பொககிஷததிலஇருககி
றகததியளிலஎனககுசசமமதியானகததிகொடுககசசொலலிகெள தறகுததாரம்பணணா
வார்களநதககததிகத்தி யனாககெலலாம் மெலாகவநதுஇருககும்அநதககததி குடடை
யாகரொணடுமுழநெடுகததிலஎடடுவிரலககடடைஅகலததிலஇருககும்அநதககததியை
ககொணடுவெடடினாலரொணடு துணடமாகஅததுவினாம்அதுமுதலககொணடு உனககு
ரொம்பபபிறபலமாகவும்யொககும்கறனாடகராசசியாதிபதியாகவும்பட்டாபிஷெகமு
ம்வருமெனறுஅம்மனஉததரவுபணணி அநதபபடிககுததானெமறுநாளைதையததில
விசுவனாதனாயககராயரிடததிலவநதுநீஙகளகிலெசபபடவெணடாம்ஒருவெட்டிலெரொ
ணடு துணடமாகவெடடிபபொடுகுறெனெனறுசொனனதிலராயரும்அவரிடததிலிருக
கிறகாரியஸ்தானாரும்நீசிறுபிளளைநீயாவதுவெடடுகுறதாவது எபபடியாககொறறமனா

blows could not effect it; and they remained in suspense whether or not some unpropitious event did not threaten the kingdom.

Such was the state of things, when, in the night of the ninth day of the festival, *Visvanatha-Naicker* was informed by the goddess, in a dream, of the concern of the *Rayer* and his principal officers ; and was advised to go to the *Rayer*, and offer to sever the buffalo's head from its shoulders with one blow, provided he might have a suitable sword, to be selected from the number of swords kept in a chest in the king's armory; adding, that as the *Rayer* would immediately let him have his choice of them, he would, at the top, find a sword, the blade of which would be two cubits long and eight inches broad, with which he would be enabled with one blow to cut the horns through, and sever the head of the animal from its body; as also, that this action would highly please the *Rayer*, and from thenceforth prove conducive to the rapid increase of his own prosperity; and that he would one day hold the sceptre in his hands, and reign exclusively throughout the *Rayer's* dominions. *Visvanatha-Naicker* went early the next morning to the *Rayer's* presence, and said, "If you will give me leave, I will undertake to cut off the buffalo's head at one blow. The *Rayer* seeing him to be a mere youth, said, "You are but a boy: how can you expect to accomplish such a thing?" But *Visvanatha-Naicker* replied, very mildly, "If I do not succeed, you are at liberty immediately to offer me as a sacrifice to appease the goddess, and avert evil." On which the *Rayer* and his ministers said, "Well, we shall see." He then added, "If you agree to my proposal, I ask a suitable sword from your armory." They replied, "Take one." He went immediately to the armory, and found a sword which corresponded with the description given him by the goddess, lying on the top of the rest; this sword he took in his hand, and returning to the *Rayer*, requested the buffalo to be brought, and tied, according to custom. The usual ceremonies having been gone through, agreeably to his desire; he with that sword severed the head of the animal from its body, so that at one blow it fell from the neck on the ground. The *Rayer* was exceedingly pleased with *Visvanatha-Naicker;* embraced him; and presenting him with all the valuable jewels and apparel which he had on his own person, said to him, "Since you are born by an especial favor from God, you have done this work, which no one else could accomplish: you are worthy

ஷர்கையயினுலெவெட்டப்படாதேஇதுஎன்னமோ காரணமாகயிநதக்கிடாவநதுஇ
ருக்குதென றுஉணணுலேஆகபபோகுதோவென றுசொனனுர்களபபொதுவிசுவனுத
னுயககர்சொனனது இதை நான் ஒருவெடடிலே ரொணடு துணடமாக வெட டமாட்டா
தே போனுல அதறகுபதில துறக்கிககிளனனே வெடடிபபெலிகொடுத துபபோடுஙகோ
வென று தென பாகச சொன னுர் ஆனுல இதைபபாறப போ மென று சொன னுர்கள ப
போ துஎனக்குசசம்மதியானகததி பொககிஷததில கொடுகக வேணுமென று கேடடா
ர்அநதபபடிககு உனக்குசசம்மதியானகததி யெடுத்துக்கோவென று பொககு சத துக
குஉத்தாம்பணணினுர்களநதப்படிக்குபபொககிஷிததிலபபோயபபாறகிறவனையில
அம்மனசொன்னஅடையாளப்படிக்கு அநதக்கததிமேலாக வநதிருநதுது அதைஎடுத
துக்கொணடு வநது அநதக்காடடெருமைக்கிடாவை துறக்கைசனன தியிலக்கொணடுவ
நதுகடடசசொலவி துறகைக்குமாமுலப்படிக்கு பூசைமறறதும்பண்ணச்சொலவிவிசு
வனுதனுயக்கர் துறகையைபிராறததிசசுக கொணடு அநதக்கத்தியினுலெவெட்டுகிற
போதுகொம்புரொண்டும் அத்துகளுதது ரொனடு துணடமாக விளுநதுது ராயர்வெகுச
நதோசபபடடுவிசுவனுதனுயக்கனை ஆலிஙகனம்பணணிக்கொணடுதாமப்பொதுதரித
திருநதவததிா பூசனுதியள இவருககுததரிததுநீர் சுவாமிவரப பிறசாததிலப பிறநதவ
ர்களானதினுலெஇநதவேலேஒருவராலுஞசெயயககூடாதகாரியஞசெயதீரோநீர்நம்மை
பபோலே நீர் சிஙகாசனததிவிருநது சீமையாளுகிறதறகு யோககியவானுனதினுலேஉ
மககுவெகுராசசியஙகொடுததுநம்மைபபோலேசிஙகாசனததிலிருக்கத தக்கதாகபப
ணணிவிககிறேமென றுரொமப சநதுடடிபாகக்கிடடவேவைததுக கொணடுரொம்பபி
றியமாகயிருநதா ரபபடி யிருககையிலவடககேசிறுதுதேசததுராசாககளஒரு சேகர
மாயககூடிககொணடுராயருககுமாமூலாகக்கோடுககிற தோப்பாப்பணஙகொடாமல
நதநதக்கோடடையிலிருநது தாணையமாயராயருடமனுசரையும் அடிததுவிடடிவிட
டார்கள அதுவயணம்ராயருக்குவநதுஇநதவிசுவனுதனுயக்கனைஅவர்களபேரிலேதெ
ணடெடுததுப்போகச்சொலலிஅனுப்பிவிச்சார்களவர்போயநதராசாக்களையுஞசெயி
ததுராச்சியமெலலாஙகட்டிஅநதராசாக்களையும்பிடிததுக்கொணடுஅவர்களுடையஆ
னைகுதிரை பொக்கிஷிபணடாரஞ சகலததையும்ராயர் சமடசபததிலக்கொணடுவநது
வைத்தார்ள அப்போ துராயர்ரொம்பசநதோஷிப்பட்டுஅநதராசாக்களுக்குளளவிருது
களெலலாம்இவருக்குக்கொடுததுராயர்வர்களுக்குணடானவிருதுகளுஞசிறுதுகொடு
ததுஅப்படியிருக்கையிலமதுரையிலச்சநதிரசேகர்பாணடியனுநதஞசாவூரிலவீரசே

to rule on a throne, even as we do; wherefore we shall keep you near ourselves, and in due time see that you are exalted to the highest dignity." In saying thus, the *Rayer* otherwise manifested the highest satisfaction and attachment.

SECTION 2.—*Visvanatha reduces some rebellious tributaries—the king of Tanjore expels the Pandion king—the Rayer sends Nagama-Naick to reinstate the latter—but the Naick usurps the kingdom—his son, Visvanatha, is sent to correct him—Visvanatha takes his father prisoner, and reinstates the Pandion—the Rayer pardons Nagama's rebellion—and, in default of an heir to the Pandion, gives the kingdom of Madura to Visvanatha-Naick.*

Several of the inferior princes in the north, soon after this occurrence, disputed their subjection as tributaries to the *Rayer;* and presumed to drive out his troops from the several fortresses. On this account *Visvanatha-Naicker* was deputed to march against the rebels, with a suitable force, in order to punish them. He accordingly proceeded, and having successfully warred against them, took them prisoners; appointed proper persons for the management of the conquered countries; and returned triumphantly to the *Rayer*, with the captives, elephants camels, horses, and all the treasure belonging to them. The *Rayer* was so well pleased with the bravery and success of *Visvanatha-Naicker*, that he forthwith honored him with distinguished tokens of approbation and favor; in bestowing on him all the banners or trophies which belonged to the refractory tributaries; and continued him about his own person.

At this time the king of Tanjore was *Vira-Segara-Soren*, and the king of Madura was *Chandra-Segara-Pandion*. The former being ambitious of extending his authority, invaded the dominions of *Chandra-Segara-Pandion;* against whom he marched with a formidable force, and conquered him. The king of Madura, together with his son, effected his escape, and fled to the *Rayer* for protection; to whom he preferred his complaint, saying, "*Vira-Segara-Soren* has forcibly taken possession of our kingdom."

The *Rayer* thereupon called *Nagama-Naicker*, the father of *Visvanatha*, and said to him, "The southern country is under your authority: is it not? therefore, employing the means which you have at command, assemble an army, and go, chastise *Vira-*

கர்சோளனுமிருநதுராச்சியமாணடுகொண்டுயிருக்கையில தஞசாவூர்வீரசேகரசோள
னவநதுமதுரைச் சநதிரசேகரபாணடியனைச்செயிதுராச்சியததைக்கட்டிக்கொண
டார்அப்போது சநதிரசேகரபாணடியனும்அவனுடையமகனும்எடுபட்டுராயரிடததி
லப்போயபிராதிபணணி எஙகள சீமையைவீரசேகரசோளன வநது கட்டிக்கொணடா
னெனறுசொனனார்அப்போது விசுவநாதநாயக்கருடையதகப்பனார் நாகமநாயக்கனைவரவ
ழைததுதெடசணதேசமெலலாம்உம்முடதோசேகானுக்குஅடமானமாயிருக்குற
துஅலலவா இப்போது அநதததேசம் உம்முட இலாகாவானதினாலே நீரும்முடையத
ணடுசேகரம்பணணிக்கொணடுபோயவீரசேகரசோளனுக்குததக்கதுசிச்சைபணணி
ச்சநதிரசேகரபாணடியனுக்குப்பட்டஙகட்டிவரச்சொலலிராயர் உததாரம்பணணிஅ
நதப்படிக்குவநதுவீரசேகரசோளனுக்குததக்கதுசிட்சைபணணிப்பாணடியனுக்கு
ப்பட்டஙகட்டாமலததானுசீமையைகட்டிகொணடிருநதார் திரும்பவுஞசநதிரசேகர
பாணடியனாராயரிடததுக்குப்போயச்சீமையைதான தானேகட்டிக்கொணடானெ
றுபிராதிபணணினாராயர்தாக்கீதிநிருபம் உடனே எழுதிப்பாணடியனுக்குச்சீமைவி
ட்டுவிடச்சொலலி எழுதியனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள நதநிருபததை நிராகரிததுதளளிவிச்சுப்
போட்டுதாம்ராயர் சமஷததானததிலிருநதுவருகிறபோதுதம்மிட இடததிலசேவுக
மாககூட வநதகம்பளததாரில தமக்கு நம்பிக்கையானகுறிகாறரைசீமையில அஙகுகங
குதாணையமாகயிருக்கச்சொலலிநேமுகம்பணணி அநத நதசீமையில்சோராசோததிய
ஙகளவருமலகாததுக்கொளளச்சொலலியும்காவலுகளுமெழுதிகுடுததுசிறுதுகிருமங
களும்விடடுகுடுததுசீமையைபநதுமுஷததுப்புப்பணணிவிச்சுக்கொணடிருநதார்க
ளபாணடியனதிரும்பராயரிடததுக்குவநதுதமமையுமமுததிரைமனுசருமநிருபமும
னுப்பிவிச்சதிலதையுமநிராகரிச்சுப்போட்டுசீமைக்கெலலாமதமமிடமனுசரைதாணை
யமநேமிச்சுக்கோணடுசீமைஒட்டுக்குதம்மிடவசமபணணிவிசசுக்கொணடிருக்கிறானெ
னறுவநதுசொனனதில ராயர்வர்கள நிரம்பவுமகோபமாகிசதிருக்குவநதுசகலமான
பேரையுமவரவழைததுவயததுக்கொணடு அவர்களைபாததுசொனனதெனனவெனறா
லபாணடியனுக்குப்பட்டஙகட்டிவரச்சொலலிஅனுப்பிவிச்சதிலயிப்படிதாமக்கட்டிக்
கொணடார் இநதச்சமஸததானததிலயிததனைபேர்துரைமக்களகாரியக்காறரிருக்கிறிய
ளேநாக்கமநாயக்கர்தலையைக்கொணடுவருகிறபோராரெனறுகேட்டதிலச்சபையெலலா
ஙகேட்டுக்கொணடு இருநதார்கள அப்போது விசுவநாதநாயக்கர் எழுநதிரிநதுராயரிட
ததிலவநதுஎனக்குஉததாரமானாலநானபோயக்கொணடுவருகிறேனெனறுசொனனார்

Segara-Soren, and reinstate *Chandra-Segara-Pandion* on the throne." According to this order, he came to Madura, and in a suitable manner punished *Vira-Segara-Soren;* but then, instead of restoring the kingdom to *Chandra-Segara-Pandion,* he usurped it as his own. On this usurpation occurring, *Chandra-Segara* again went to the *Rayer*, and complained; saying, "He has taken the kingdom for himself." The *Rayer* instantly despatched an imperial mandate, commanding *Nagama-Naicker* to restore the kingdom to the *Pandion;* to whom he intrusted the order, and dismissed him. But the usurper, treating the mandate with contempt, rejected it; and selecting from amongst those who came with him, and had served him while he was in subjection to the *Rayer*, the most clever marksmen, and most brave, he gave them certain districts in charge, writing out grants of tenure; and these persons he ordered to have strict charge, each over his own district, and to see that no robbers plundered it, and that no invader was suffered to advance with impunity. The *Pandion* again returned to the *Rayer*, and said to him, "Your general has treated me, and your official messengers who accompanied me, and your mandate also, with contempt; and, keeping the country for himself, has delivered the whole of it to the defence of his own creatures." On receiving this intelligence, the *Rayer* was thoroughly incensed; and calling the whole of his counsellors together, thus addressed them, "So he, instead of crowning the *Pandion*, as he was ordered, has taken possession of the kingdom as if his own.—Now, you are sons of lords and skilful commanders—Speak, which of you will undertake to go and bring me the head of *Nagama-Naicker*?" The whole of that assembly (silently) heard this inquiry. Thereupon *Visvanatha-Naicker* rose up, and, approaching the *Rayer*, said, "If you will give me leave, I will go and bring it to you." The *Rayer* replied, "What, will you go and join your father?" (that is, to strengthen his rebellion). To which *Visvanatha* replied, "As I eat your food, your service is my duty; and, in comparison with the service of my master, never mind about my father: as you command I shall act, and in no other manner." On receiving permission, according to his request, he assembled an army; and coming to the Madura country, he made a descent on one of the districts, and thence wrote to his father, to the following purport, "That, as his father had transgressed the *Rayer's* order, he himself was sent to cut off

அப்போதுராயர்சொன்னது உஙகளதகப்பனுரோடேநீருஞசேகர்மாகக்கூடிக்கொ
ளளவாபோரீரென்றுசொன்னுர்கள அதுக்கு விசுவனுதனுயக்கர் உம்முடையஅனனஞ
சாப்பிடுகிறபடியினுலேஎசமானகாரியம்பிறதானமலலாது தகப்பனஎனகிற அக்கறை
யிலலைஉததரவுப்படிநடக்குறவனேஅலலாதுவேரிலலையெனறுஉததாரம்வாஙகிககொ
ணடுதணடுசேகரிததுக்கொணடுமதுரைச்சீமையிலவநதுபாளையமிறஙகிக்கொணடுதக
ப்பனுருக்குஎழுதிஅனுப்பிவிச்சவயனம்ராயருடைய ஆக்கினைதப்பிநடநதபடியினுலே
தஙகளைச்சிர்சாக்கினைசெயது கொணடுவர்ச்சொலலிஎனனை அனுப்பிவிச்சார்களானப
டியினுலேதாஙகளபாணடியனுக்குப் படடஙகடடிஎனனுடனேவநதாலநானராயனை
ச்சமாதானம்பணணிதஙகள பேரில ஆயாசமிலலாமலச்செயகிறேனெனறு எழுதினுர்
உடனே மிகுநத கோபததினுலே தளஞசேகரிததுக்கொணடுமகனபேரிலச்சணடை
க்குப்பிறபடடுச்சணடையானதிலவிசுவனுதனுயக்கர்தகப்பனைச்செயிததுதகப்பனையு
ம்பிடிததுஆனையினமேலஅவுதாவினபேரிலவைததுச்சுததிப்பாராவும்வைததுக்கொ
ணடுபாணடியனுக்குப்படடமுஙகடடிததகப்பனுரைராயர்சமஸ்சமததிலக்கொணடு
போயவிடடு உததரவானுலததலையை ஆக்கினை பணணிவிக்கிறேனெனறு சொனனதில
ராயர்வர்களுஞசநதோசப்படடுஉன நிமிததியம்உஙகளதகப்பனுர் செயதகுததஞசயி
ததோமெனறுவஷீததிர்வெகுமதியள பணணிஎப்போதும்போலேஇருநதார்களப்ப
டியிருக்கையிலமதுரையிலப்படடஙகடடிக்கொணடிருநதபாணடியனவிழுநதுபோய
அவர்மகனுக்குப்படடஙகடடியிருநதுஅவருஞசிறுதுனிருநதுராசசிய மாணடுவிழு
நதுபோனுர்பாணடியனபடடததுக்கசுவம்முஸமிலலாமலப்போயவிடடுதுஅதினபி
றகுஅநததேசததுக்கு யோக்கியனுகவேணுமெனறுஆலோசனை பணணிவிசசுவிசுவ
னுதனுயக்கனைவர்வளைததுஅநததேசமுழுதும் உஙகளதகப்பனுர் இலாகாவிலேஇருந
ததேஇப்போதுஅந்தப்பட்டத்துக்குப்பாண்டியன்வம்முஸமிலலாமலப்போனதினு
லேநீர்முனகாடடெருமைக்கிடாவை வெடடிததுறகைக்குப்பலிகொடுததுச சமஸத
தானததுக்குததோசம்வராமலப் பணணிவிசசவரானதினுலேயும்வடக்கேஅனேகந
தேசததுராசாக்களதோப்பாவுஙகோடாமலராசசியஙகளைக்கடடிக்கொணடியிருநதவ
ர்களையும்நீர்போய அநதராசசியஙகளைசசுவாதீனப்படிததிவிசசுவநதீரிது வலலமலலஉ
ம்முடதகப்பனுர் நம்முடஆக்கினைதப்பிஅநததேசததைக்கடடியிருநதவனா தகப்ப
னென்றுபாராமலஎசமானகாரியம்பிறதானமெனறுபாததுஅவனையுஙகொண்டுவந்தீர்
முனனுலே நாம் நம்மைப் போலே சிஙகாசனங கொடுதது ராசசியமுங கொடுக்கிறோ

his father's head, and carry it back; but that, if his father would reinstate the *Pandion*, as he had been commanded, and would then peaceably come over to himself, he would use suitable means of appeasing the *Rayer*, and remove all existing displeasure against his father." But the father, kindling with rage, hastily assembled his forces, and going forth, encountered *Visvanatha;* by whom he was conquered and taken prisoner: being placed in a howdah on an elephant, *Visvanatha* caused him to be well guarded; then, reinstating the *Pandion*, he returned to the presence of the *Rayer*, and said, "If you order me so to punish my father, I will now bring you his head." But the *Rayer* being greatly pleased, said to him, "For your sake, we pardon your father's fault." And, after giving him robes, and other presents, allowed all things to be adjusted; and remained as he was before these circumstances had occurred.

Matters being thus situated, the king of Madura died; and his son, having been crowned, after a short time died also: so that the *Pandion* race became entirely extinct. In consequence, the *Rayer* took counsel; and, desiring a meritorious person to rule that kingdom, he sent and called for *Visvanatha-Naicker*, to whom he said, "All that country was, as you know, under your father's control; and now, as there is no heir to the throne, through defect of posterity to the *Pandion;* and seeing that you, on a public emergency, killed the wild buffalo; and by offering it to the goddess *Durga*, prevented the occurrence of public calamity; moreover, as you conquered several northern *rajahs*, when they revolted and refused to pay tribute, making their countries to become fully our own, by right of conquest; and besides, when your father disobeyed our commands, you considered the right of your sovereign as entitled to precedence over those of your father, and brought him here; further, as you must remember, when we formerly gave you a throne like our own, we promised you also a kingdom; therefore, now be king of the Madura country." Agreeably to this grant, the *Rayer* had water from *Ganges* at *Casi* brought; and, causing him to be anointed,* gave him the title of "Lord of the *Pandion* throne," and delivered to him the *Pandion* country, as also all suitable presents; and said, "Be the kingdom yours, and that of your posterity, even as

* By sprinkling or aspersion of water.

மெனறுவாக்குதத துவம்பணணி யிருநதோ மேயலலவா அநதப்படிக்கு இப்போதீர்ம
துரைப்பாணடிமணடலத்துக்குராசாவாக யிருமெனறுகாசிக் கெஙகாசெலங கொணடு
வநது அவருக்கபிசேகபணணிபாணடியசிஙகாசனுதிபதியெனறுபேருங கொடுததுபா
ணடியதேசமுங கொடுததுசசகலவிருதுகளுங கொடுததுவஙகிஷபாரம்பரியமாகசசூரி
யசநதிராளஉளளவரைக்கும்பாணடியதேசததுராசாக்களாய இருஙகோவெனறு அனு
க்கிறகம்பணணினுர்களப்போது துறகையம்மனை நமககுவேணுமெனறு ராயருடனே
கேடடார்ப்போது ராயரிடததிலிருநதவர்களசமஸ்ததான தேவதையாகச்சேகுடுக்கப்
படாதேயெனறுசொனனதில நம்மிடததில அவர்கேடடகாரியம் இலலையெனகிறதிலலை
யெனறு அம்மனையுங கொடுததுவிசுவனுதநாயக்கரையும்அனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள அவருமது
ரைக்குமீனுட்சிசனனதியிலசசெஙகோலவாஙகி அரியனுதமுதலியாருக்குநதளகறதத
பிறதானிக்கங கொடுததுமுனபாணடியனகோடடைக்கோவிலைசசுததிசசினனக்கோட
டையாயிருநததையிடிசசுப்போடடுராயர்சமஸ்ததானததிலேதனனுட தகப்பனுர்சம்
பாததியமெலலாம்அனேகதிரவியஙகளை வரவழைததுமதுரைக் கோடடை விலாசமாய
ரெணடுசுததுக் கோடடையுஙகடடி கோவிலுகள அக்கிறுகாரஙகள குடிகள மறறதெல
லாம்உணடுபணணி மதுரைவைகையிலகாலகணமாயள விஸததார்மாய அனேகங குடிக
ளையும் நூதனக்கிறுமஙகளும்உணடு பணணிவிசசார்கள அதினபிறபாடு திறசசுனுப்பள
ளிமலைக்கோடடைமடடுக்குங கொஞசக்குடிகளுநதஞசவூரோடே சேநதிருக்கும் வட
க்கேயிருநது ஸ்ரீரெஙகததுக்குராமேசுர்யாததிரைக்கும்வருகிற சனஙகளைவீசஙகனுடடு
க்களளரும்பாளையகாறருமயாததிரைக்குவநதிருக்கிறபேர்களை அடிததுக்கொள்ளையிட்
டுக்கொணடுபோயிருப்பார்கள இதினுலேதஞசாவூர்எலலையானபடியினுலே அநதப்பரி
முதலதஞசாவூரானைக்கொடுககச்சொலவினனோர்மும்லொஸடடாயிருககும்இப்படி
இருக்கையில்விசுவனுதனயக்கரும்அரியனுதமுதலியாரும்எங்களுடையவல்லத்துக்கோ
டடைநீஙகள சேகர்மாகவைததுககொளளுஙகள நாஙகள அதைதத தருகிறோம்அதறகுப்
பதிலதிருச்சுனுப்பளளி எஙகளுககுததாருஙகோ வெனறுகேடடதில அநதப்படிககுஇ
ருபேருமவஸததுசம்மதிததுக கோடடை அவர்களவாஙகிக்கொணடுதிருசசுனுப்பளளி
யை இவர்களுக்குக்கொடுததார்களதினபிறபாடு அனேகதிரவியஞசிலவு செயதுதிருசசு
னுப்பளளியில ரெணடுசுததுக்கோடடையுஙகடடிவிஸததாரமாக அகிலும்வெடடிப்ப
டடணமுநதெறபக்குளஙகளும்உணடாக்கி அரமனையுஙகடடிக்காவேரியிருகரையுஙகா
டுசெடியிருந்ததையெலலாஞசெவவைபபடுததிவாயக்கால்வயலமறறதும்உணடாக்கிக்

long as the sun and the moon endure." On receiving these favors, *Visvanatha* solicited to be allowed to take also the image of the goddess *Durga;* and when the *Rayer's* attendants objected, saying, " The guardian goddess of the capital must not be given away," the *Rayer* answered, " To this person there is no denial, whatever request he may make." Accordingly, the goddess *Durga* was bestowed; and *Visvanatha* received audience of leave to depart.

SECTION 3.—*Visvanatha is installed at Madura—builds a new Fort, and makes other improvements—acquires the Hill-fort of Tritchinopoly by negociation with the king of Tanjore—builds a new and larger fort with a palace there—rebuilds the temple of Sriranghom—and makes many other improvements—sends his general, Ariya-Nathar, to regulate the affairs of the Tinnevelly country.*

Visvanatha-Naicker having come to Madura, received the sceptre in the presence of the goddess *Minatchi;* and then gave the office of commander of the forces to *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar.* He next proceeded to throw down the small *Pandion* fort which surrounded the temple; and sending for the great riches which his father had gathered together in the *Rayer's* service, by means of these he built an extensive double-walled fort: besides which, he constructed temples, and *agraras,* (or Bramin-streets,) in other needful places; and increased the population of the country. He further caused extensive water-courses to be cut, communicating with the river *Vaigai;* thus fertilizing extensive districts; wherein he built several new villages, and peopled them with inhabitants. Besides which, a few of his subjects extended their residence a little way into the Tanjore dominions, even as far as to the hill-fort of Tritchinopoly. At this period, it was customary for the robbers of the *Visanga* country, and for the head men of districts, to assault and plunder the pilgrims who came from the north in order to visit *Sriranghom* and *Ramiseram.* As these things occurred within the Tanjore boundary, there was a constant dispute going on; in consequence of demands of *Visvanatha* on the Tanjorean for the recovery of the plundered property. Induced by such circumstances, *Visvanatha-Naicker,* and *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar,* proposed to the king of Tanjore to give up to him the fort

குடிகளிதுவெலலாம்உணடுபணணி அதனபிறபாடு உபையகாவேரித தீரமுழுதுகிரும
ஙகளகடடிஅக்கிரகாரஙகள கோவிலுகளகடடிவைததுவீசஙகளுடடுக்களளாயும்பா
ளையகாரளாயும்அடக்கிச்சீமையும்பிறபலப்படுததிவிச்சு சோஙகமுத்லாகிய கோவிலுகள
மணடபபிறகாரஙகளகட டிவைதததிருநெலவெலிச்சீமைக்குஅரியனாதமுதலியாரையு
ஞசிறுதுதளஙகளையுங கூடடிஅனுப்பிவிச்சுச்சீமைபநதுவஸததுப்பணணச்சொலவி
அனுப்பிவிச்சிதிலஇவடததிலபாணடியனுக்குளளேதெட்சணநதிருநெலவெலிச்சீமையி
லஅஞசுபேர்ராசாக்களஅஞசுபாளையப்படடாகஇருநததிலப்பாணடியனுக்குக்கொடு
ததகாணிக்கையும்இவர்களுக்குக்கொடாமல அஞசுராசாக்களும் ஒருசேகரமாகளதுப்
பாளையஞ்செயது அரியனாதமுதலியாருடனே சண்டைபண்ணி அரியனாதமுதலியாரு
க்குநிருபாகமிலலாமலவிசுவனாதநாயக்கருக்குஎழுதிஅனுப்பிவிச்சார்அவர்வெகுதணடு
டனேவநதுயிரஙகிஆறுமாசம்வரைக்கும்சணடைபணணினதிலஅஞசுபேர்ராசாக்களை
ச்செயிக்கக்கூடாமலஉபையதளததிலும்வெகுசனம்வரைக்கும்இறநதுபோயபாளைய
ததிலேயுஞசீமையிலேயுஞசெததுப்போனவர்களுடையசமுசாரஙகளுடையகூக்கரலு
மழுகைச்சததமும்விசுவனாதநாயக்கர்கேடடுநாமொருததர்ராச்சியமாணடுபோகபாக்
கியஙகளனுபவிக்கிறநிமிததியம்வெகுசனஙகளிறநதுபோயவெகுசமுசாரமெலலாஙகி
லெசப்படடுக்கொணடிருக்கிறார்களெனறு யோசினைபணணிஎதிரிகளஅஞசுபேர்களு
க்குஙகாகிதம்யெழுதி தானாபதியைஅனுப்பிவிசசுநீஙகளஞசு பேர்வநதிருக்குநீயளநா
மொருதர்வநதிருக்குறோம்உஙகளுக்கும்நமக்குமாகவளையளிருக்குறபேரொலலாம்இ
றநதுபோறார்களப்படிவேணடாம்உஙகளதளததையும்எஙகளதளததையும்நிறுததி
உபையதளததுக்கும்மததியாய ஒருகல்க்கம்பம்நிறுததி அதில ஒருபடடையம்யெழுதி
நீஙகளஞசுபேர்வாருஙகளநாமொருதர்வருகிறோம்நீஙகளும்நாமுமாகச்சணடைசெ
யது உஙகளைநாஞசெயிததாலக்கடடினவஷித திரததோடே உஙகளசீமையைஎஙகளுக்
குவிடடுப்போடடுபொக்கிஷப்பணடாரததையுங்குடுததுப்போடடுப்போரதுநாஙக
ள்தோருவையாயப்போனாலநாங்களகடடினதேசமெலலாம்விடடுப்போடடுநாஙகளு
ம்அநதப்படியேபோயவிடுகிறதுயெனறுஆலோசினை ஆணைசததியததுடனேபடடை
யம்யெழுதி அநதக்கம்பததினமேலேகடடி நீஙகளும்நாமும் அநதக்கம்பததடியிலச்ச
ணடைபணணுகிறதெனறு சொலலியனுப்பிவிச்சார் அதுக்கு அநத அஞசுபேர்ராசாக்க
ளும் ஆலோசினைபணணிக்கொணடுநீர் ஒருதர் வருகிறது நாஙகள அஞசுபேர்வநதுசண
டைபணணுகிறதுஅதறமம்நாஙகளும்அஞசுபேரிலொருதர்வருகுறோம் நீறுவாரும்ச

of *Valam*, and to receive from him Tritchinopoly in exchange. To this proposition both parties acceded; and, accordingly, the fort of *Valam* was given up to the Tanjore king, and Tritchinopoly to the king of Madura. Afterwards the latter expended great sums of money, and thereby built a double-walled fort around Tritchinopoly, and dug an extensive fosse, or moat, in front. He also erected dwelling houses inside the wall; and caused a *teppacolam*, or sacred-tank, to be dug. Besides, he built a palace; had the jungle-wood on both sides of the river Cauvery cleared away; dug water-courses; laid out new fields for tillage, and placed new inhabitants to cultivate them. Further, he caused ordinary villages, and Bramin streets, with temples, to be built every where on both banks of the Cauvery; and, chastising the robbers of the *Visanga* country, he rendered the country celebrated. Besides, he built *Srirangham*, and other temples; and along with them, the usual *mandabams*, or porches, and connected places. He likewise despatched *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, at the head of a body of troops, into the *Tirunelveli* (or Tinnevelly) country, to make needful arrangements, or see that good police stations and agricultural improvements were therein ordained.

Section 4.—*Ariya-natha-Muthaliar is opposed by five refractory chiefs—applies to Visvanatha for reinforcement—who comes and wages indecisive warfare—to prevent effusion of blood and misery of families, Visvanatha proposes singly to encounter the five chiefs—they decline, but select one of their number, who is overcome, and the others afterwards, by Visvanatha—according to agreement, he acquires possession of their territories.*

But in that country lying to the south, there were five kings, who had been tributaries to the *Pandion*. These now banded together, and refusing to pay their tribute to *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, joined their forces, and offered him battle. As he was not strong enough to meet them, he wrote to *Visvanatha-Naicker;* who came, accompanied by a large body of troops, and carried on war during the space of six months, without being able to subdue the five kings: a great many men on both

ணடைபண்ணுவோம்மென்றுவிசுவநாதனுக்கருக்குச்சொல்லியனுப்பிவிச்சார்களத
றகுவிசுவநாதநாயக்கறசொல்லிஅனுப்பிவிசசவயனம் நீஙகளஅஞ்சுபேரும்அவறஅவர்
சீர்மைக்கிஆகவநதிருக்குறியளநாமொருதர் அநதஅஞ்சுசீமையும்கடடவேணும்மென
றுவநதிருக்கிறோம்ஆனபடியினாலே நீஙகளஅஞ்சுபஙகுக்கும அஞ்சுபேர்வரலாம்மெ
னறுதிரும்பவும்சொல்லிஅனுப்பிவிச்சாறகள அப்படிக்கிசம்மதியாமல அவர்கள அஞ
சுபேரிலஒருதர்கெட்டிக்காறனுகசீருவும்தொடுததுகையயிலபட்டாவும்வாஙகிகுதிரை
யேறிக்கொண்டுஅநதயிடததுக்கு வநதார்கள வநதவுடனே விசுவநாதனாயக்கர்ராசா
வைபாததுநீர் முனனே வெட்டுமென்றுசொன்னார் அநதப்படிராசவிசுவநாதனாயக்க
ரைவெட்டினார்ராசவிசுவநாதனாயக்கர் அநதவெட்டைகததியினாலேதாஙகினார்மறுபடி
யும்அநதராசாவிசுவநாதனாயக்கரை வெட்டசொன்னார் நீர் மூணுகைய வெட்டுமென
றுசொன்னார் அநதப்படிக்கிசெயதார்மறுபடியும்விசுவநாதனாயக்கர்ராசாவைபாதது
இனிமேலபததிரமாயிரும்மென்றுசொல்லிவிசுவநாதநாயக்கர்ராசாவை வெட்டிரெண
டுதுண்டமாகவிழுநதுபோனார்அநதப்பட்டையத்திலெழுதினபடிக்கிஅநதநாலுபே
ர்ராசாக்கழும்சீமையைவிட்டுப்போட்டுததேசாந்திரமாகப்போயவிட்டார்கள.இவர்க
ளசொல்லுறுதியினாலேஅப்போதுதெவாதியளபுஷ்ப்பம்வருஷம்வருஷிததார்கள அப்
போதுவிசுவநாதனாயக்கரும்அரியநாதமுதலியாரும்தாம்பரபண்ணிததீாததிலவநது
திருநெலவெலிபட்டணமும்கோவிலவிஷததார்மாக உண்டுபண்ணிவிசசார்தாம்பிரவெ
ணிததீாமுததும்அரூபமாயஇருநதகிராமஙகளையும்அனேகநதிாவியஞசிலவளிச்சுபிற
பலம்பண்ணிவிச்சுகாலகளும்நணறுவெட்டிவிச்சுவயலக்காடுகளும்விபரீதமாக உண்டு
பண்ணிவிசசுப்பிறபலப்படுததினார்களசிறுதுகிராமஙகளும்அக்கிராகாரஙகள பண்ணிவி
சசார்களமுனநாகமநாயுக்கர்பிறகேவநததொட்டியரிலஇநதச்சணடையளுக்கெலலா
ஙகூடவேயிருநதுவெகுபிரையாசப்பட்டபடியினாலே அவர்களுக்கெல்லாம்பாளையப்
பட்டுக்களாகஅவரவர்களுக்குச்சீமையும்விட்டுக்குடுததுகாவலக்கிராமஙகளும்விட்டுக்
கொடுததுளஎழுபததிரண்டுபாளையப்பட்டாகபண்ணிமதுரைகோட்டைக்குளஎழுபததிர
ணடுகொததளமுஙகட்டிஎழுபததிரண்டுபாளையகாரருக்கும்நேமுகம்படுததிகாவலா
கச்சொல்லிநேமிததார்கள இப்படியிருநதார்கள அப்போதுசாலியவாகன - சகாறதம்
௲௪௱௫௰௪ - கலியுகாறதம் - ௪௲௬௱௩௰௩ - யிதனமேறபரிதாபி - ௵ - முதலஈசா - ௵
வரைக்கும் - ௵ ௨௰௧ - க்குவிசுவநாதனாயக்கர்வகளராச்சியம் ஆண்டார்களசகாறதம்
௲௪௱௮௰ - க்குபிறகாலம்அவர்குமாரானபெரியகிஷணப்பனாயக்கருக்குப்பட்டஙகட

sides fell, and the lamentations of the families of the deceased, alike in the camp and country around, being heard by *Visvanatha-Naicker*, he reflected within himself how many families were absorbed in grief merely that he, a single person, might enjoy undisturbed prosperity; and, in consequence, wrote a letter to the five opponents, which he sent by a herald; of which letter, the contents were the following—"You are five persons, and I am one: for our sakes so much grief and lamentation is caused. Let it not be thus; but, withdrawing the two armies, and restraining all attacks, let a stone pillar be erected midway between both armies, and an agreement be written and placed on it; then advance and meet me alone in personal encounter: if I conquer you, then you must depart with nothing more than the garments you wear; relinquishing your countries, with all treasure and appurtenances, to me; and if I am conquered, then I give up to you, in like manner, my country and all possessions. Let a solemn vow to this effect be made, and let the agreement be recorded on a copper-plate, and placed on the stone pillar; after which we will engage in combat at its foot, and decide the question between us." On receiving this communication, the five persons consulted together, and replied, "For you, being one, to meet us five together, would not be equitable; but one from among us will come, and do you come and meet him." *Visvanatha* answered in the following manner, "You, being five persons, are at the head of five countries, which I, being one person, have come in order to subjugate to myself alone; and therefore it is quite right that all five of you should meet me at once." They, however, would not consent; but selecting the bravest of their number, clothed him in body armour, and mounting him on horseback, being duly furnished with a sword, they conducted him to the appointed arena of combat.

As soon as they were come, *Visvanatha-Naicker* addressed the champion king, and said to him, "Do you strike first." Accordingly he did so, and *Visvanatha-Naicker* parried the blow with his sword. The king then bid *Visvanatha* strike; but he declined, and bid the other strike three times. He did so. Again *Visvanatha-Naicker* addressing the king, said, "Now, for the rest, take good care;" and then struck the king, cutting him into two pieces, falling to the ground. The four kings now gave up their countries according to the aforesaid written (or engraved) agreement, and

டிவைதது ராசசியம்பரிபாலினம்பணணுகுறபோது வர்னமாயிரஙகுதிரைகடடி தம்பி
ச்சினனயக்கரென று ஒருபாளையகாறனபாணடியனசீமையில வெகுசீமைகடடிக்கொண
டுடர்ம்பைக்குடியிலக்கோடடையும்போடடுக்கொணடிருநதான பெரியகிஷடடிணப்
பனயக்கர்போயச்சணடைபணணிஅவனையுஞசெயிதது அநதராச்சியததையுஙகடடிக்
கொணடார்கள அதினபிறகுஅவர்குமாரனமூதததார்ததினமகனஇளையதார்ததினமக
னரெணடுபேருஙகாவிலவீளநததிலப்பரம்பக்குடிக்காவலுஙகுடுததுபார்ம்பூருமதுவுட
னேசேர்நதகிருமஙகளையும்விடடுக்கொடுதது ஒருசினனப் பாளையப்படடாகயிருக்கு
ம்படியாயநேமிததார்கள மததச்சீமை யெலலாஞ சேர்ததுக்கொணடார்கள அவரும்
வெகுனளச்சீமையாணடுபாளையஙகோடடைக்கிக்கிளக்குகிஷடடிணமனயக்கர்பேரு
க்கு ஒரு ப்படடணமுஙகடடிவைதது அதில ச்சிவதலமும் விஷடடு ணுதலமுந தெறப்பக்
குளமும் அக்கிருகார்மும்இது வெலலாமுணடுபணணித திருநெலவெலிக்கு மேறகேக்க
டையும்கிஷ்ட்டினபுரமெனறு அதிலக்கோவில அக்கிரூரஙகள உணடுபண்ணிவிச்சுவெகு
தானிய -௵-முதலகீலக-௵- வரைக்குமுப்பததொருவருஷம்வரைக்கும்ராக்சியமா
ணடார்அப்போது சாலிவாகனசகார்தம் - ௲௪௱௰௧௵ - அதினமேலக்காலஞசெனறு
அவருக்குப் பிறகாலம்அவர்குமாரனன பெரியவீரப்பனயக்கருக்குப் படடாபிசேகமா
யராச்சியமாளையிலமாவிலிவாணராசாவெனறுமானமதுரையிலேயும்சாளையார்கோவி
விலேயும் கோடடைப் போடடுக்கொணடுபாணடியன சீமையில சிறுதுசீமைக்கடடிக்
கொணடு இருநதார் அவரையுஞசெயிதது அநதச் சீமையும்மதுரை யுடனே சேததுக்
கொணடார்திருசிரபுரமதெறகுககோடடைஅறுப்புக்கோடடைகடடிவிச்சுச்சிதம்பர
ஙகோவிலுஞசுததிக்கோடடையுஙகடடிவிச்சார்அவருமனேகதர்மமஅக்கிருகாரஙகளு
ணடுபணணிசவுமி -௵-முதலஇவ-௵-வரைக்கும் -௨௰௭௵ - ராச்சியமாணடார்அ
ப்போது சாலிவாகனசகாறதம் - ௲௪௱௩௰௮ - வரைக்கும்அவர்குமாரனனவிசுவப்பன
யக்கர்குமாரர்கிஷடடிணப்பனயக்கர்கஷததூரிரெஙகப்பனயக்கர்மூனறுபேர்குமாரா
ளஅதில விசுவப்பனயககருக்குப்படடஙகடடிஅவர்குமார்கிஷடடிணப்பனயக்கருஞசி
னனததுரையுமாகயிருநதுதாது -௵-முதலமனமத-௵ - வரைக்கும்சகாறதம் - ௲
௪௱௫௰௮௵ - இருவதுவருசம்-வரைக்கும்ராச்சிய மாணடு அவருக்குப்பிறக்காலஙகு
மார்கிஷடடிணப்பனயக்கருக்குப்படடமும் அவர்தம்பிகஷததூரிரெஙகப்பனயக்கரு
க்குச்சின்னத்துரைததனமுமாகயிருநதுஅவர்களுநதுனமுகி - ௵ - முதல பரிதாவி
௵-வரைக்கும்சாலிவானசகாறதம்- ௲௪௱௭௰௫-படடம்பதினொருவருஷம்அவருக்கு

departed as emigrants, or solitary wanderers, into other lands. In consequence of their good faith to their plighted word, the gods from on high showered down flowers, in token of their approbation.

SECTION 5.—*Visvanatha-Naicker, and his general, improve the Tinnevelly Country—divide the whole of their acquisitions into seventy-two districts—give these to seventy-two chiefs—on condition of military service—the date of this transaction fixed at S. S.* 1354, *or A. D.* 1432—*Visvanatha ceases to reign S. S.* 1380, *or A. D.* 1438—*and is succeeded by his son Periya-Kistnama-Naicker.*

Visvanatha-Naicker, and *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, afterwards came to the *Tembaraveni* river; and there they rebuilt or enlarged the town of *Tirunelveli* (Tinnevelly); and also erected many new temples. There being unsightly villages on the banks of the *Tembaraveni*, they expended great sums of money in repairing and beautifying them, making them celebrated; and also had many water-courses cut, leading from the river to the fields: the number of which last they greatly increased; adding to the repute of the whole country. Besides which, they built some new villages, and some *agraras*, or Bramin-streets.

As many of the chiefs of the *Dotiyah* class, who had heretofore followed the fortunes of *Nagama-Naicker*, had taken an active share of service in all these last mentioned battles, so now *Visvanatha-Naicker* and *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* rewarded their services by dividing the whole of the countries acquired into seventy-two *palliyams*, (districts, or counties,) specifying the towns or villages belonging to each; and these districts they held on tenure of military service, in the manner following: that is—the king built or attached seventy-two bastions to the fort of Madura; and in case of attack or siege, these seventy-two *palliya-carers* were each one to have charge of a particular bastion with a connected portion of the wall, and to defend the same with his retainers against all assaults. This arrangement was accordingly followed. This was in the year of *Salivahana-Sagartam* 1354, or year of the *Cali-yugam* 4533.

After this arrangement, *Visvanatha-Naicker* reigned from *Paritabi* year down to

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ப்பிறகாலம்அவர்குமாரனானமுததுக்கிஷடடிணப்பனாயக்கர்குளநதையானததினாலே
அவர்தம்பிகஷதூரிரெஙகப்பனாயக்கருக்குப்படடஙகடடிக்கொணடுபிறமாதீட்ஷி
௵-முதலகொணடுசித்தாறதி -௵- வரைக்கும்யேளுவருஷம்ராசசியமாணடார்சா
விவாகனசகாறதம்-௲௬௱௮௰௨-அவருக்குப்பிறகாலம்அவர்தமையனார்குமாரர்கிஷட
டிணப்பனாயக்கர் குமாரனமுததுக்கிஷடடிணப்பனாயக்கருக்குப்படடஙகடடிஅவர்ரா
சசியமாளையிலஅனேகஙகோவிலகள தடாகஙகளஅக்கிராஙகளமதுரைக்குருசிக்கநதர
மலைக்குமததியிலமுததுக்கிஷடடிணாபுரமெனறுபடடணமுஙகடடிவைததுகயததா
ததிலமுததுக்கிஷடடிணேசுரனெனறுசிவனகோவிலகடடிவைததுஅவர்னாளையிலசசெ
துபதிக்குராசசியஙகொடுததவயணமாவது ஆதியிலஉடையானசெதுபதிக்கிசசீமையு
ம்துரைததனமுமுணடுபணணிக்குடுததுஅப்போதுராமனாதபுரஞசீமையெலலாநதன்
னாசுநாடாயஉளருக்கூர்கோட்டைஉண்டுஆமனைக்குவாரவரிசையுஙகொடாமலயெங
கேபாறததாலுஙகாடுவளததுக்கொணடுசீமைகொளளையிடுகிறதுஞசெதுமாறகததில
ராமேசுாததுக்குப்போறபரிசுகளைசசிலலரைபணணிவெடடிக்குததிபறிததுக்கொண
டுபோறதுமாகயிருநததுஅப்போதுகறததாக்களாகியமுததுக்கிஷடடிணப்பனாயக்க
ருடைய குருக்களராமேசுாததுக்குப்போனார் அப்போதுபொகலூரிலிருநதுஉடை
யானசெதுபதியாகிறவர் குருக்கழுக்குக்காவலாகராமேசுரம்வரைக்கும்போயவளிப்
பாதையிலசலவியமிலலாமலபததிரமாயக்காததுக்கொணடுகுருக்களராமேசுாததுக்கு
ப்போயமதுரைக்குவருகிறவரைக்குஙகூடவேவநதார் அப்போது குருக்களவெகுசந
தோசப்படடுராசாமுததுகிஷடடிணப்பனாயகரிடததிலக்கூட்டிக்கொணடுபோயப்
பேட்டிபணணிவிசசுசெதுமாறக்கததுக்குஇவர்கெட்டிக்காறனெனறுஇவர்செயதிது
ததியப்படுததிவிச்சுசிறுதுசனததுக்கும்சிறுதுகிராமஙகளும்உததார்ம்வாஙகிகுடுதது
வஷததிரமும்பூசனாதியளும்வெகுமதிவாங்கிகுடுதது அனுப்பிவிசசதிலஅவர்வநது
பொகலூரிலக்கோட்டைப்போட்டுசசிறுதுசனததையும்சேவுகம்வைததுக்கொணடு
தனனாசுநாடாயிருநதசீமையெலலாம்அடிததுககட்டிதனனுககுளளேசுபாதீனப்படு
ததிவிசசுககொணடுஅநதசசீமையிலவெகுபணம்வரைககும்அறுவுபணணிராசாமுதது
ககிஷட்டிணப்பநாயககருககுககொணடுவநதுகொடுததார்ரொம்பவுஞசநதோசப்பட்
டுஇனனமுனககுத தேவையானசனம் எவளவு சனம் வைகக வேணுமோ அநத மட்டும்
வைததுககொணடுஆமனைககிப்பணஙகொடாதசீமை யெலலாம் நீர் வெட்டிக கட்டிக
கொளளசசொலலிநிருபஙகுடுததுஉததார்ம் பணணினார்கள அநதப்படிககு வநதுசன

Isvara year, or twenty-six years. After *Salivahana-Sagartam* 1380, his son, *Periya-Kistnama-Naicker,* was crowned.

Section 6.—*A Polygar rebels—and is subdued by Periya-Kistnama-Naicker—who pardons the rebel's two sons, and gives them a small estate, assuming the rest of the district to himself—he builds two towns near to Tinnevelly—reigns to S.S.* 1411, *or A.D.* 1489—*and his son, Periya-Virapa-Naicker, succeeds him.*

In his days, *Dummachi-Naicker,* a *palliya-caren,* assembled a great force of cavalry, and subdued, assuming to himself, many places in the *Pandion* country; and built for himself a fort, in a place which he called *Parambai-kudi. Periya-Kistnama-Naicker* went out against him; and, overthrowing him in battle, captured the whole of his country, or *palliyam,* with its additions. But two of the rebel-chief's sons, the one by the elder wife, and the other by the younger wife, of *Dummachi,* came and fell at the feet of *Periya-Kistnama-Naicker,* imploring pardon: he gave up *Parambu-kudi* to them, together with *Parambur,* (the town or pettah,) and with it the connected villages; and settling this district as a small *palliyam,* he assumed all the remaining portion of the rebel-chief's territory to himself.

He reigned many years, and to the eastward of *Paliyang-kotai,* (Palamcottah,) he built a town, calling it (*Kistnapuram,*) after his own name. In this town he built a *Saiva* temple, a *Vaishnava* temple, and *agraras;* had a *terpacolam* (or sacred tank) dug; and furnished the town with every other customary appurtenance. In like manner, to the west of *Tirunelveli,* he built a town, named *Kadiyang-kistnapuram;* and in this also erected temples and *agraras.* He ruled from *Vegudaniyam* year down to *Kilaca* year, being a period of thirty-one years. This was *S.S.* 1411. His time had then passed; and he left his crown to his son *Periya-Virapa-Naicker,* who was anointed and installed.

மும்வைததுக்கொணடுசீமையெலலாஙகடடிசுபாதீனப்படுததிவிச்சுக்கொணடுஅதிலு
ளளபணமெலலாமறுவிடடு தம்மிடசனததுக்கும்தம்மிட சிலவுக்கும்வைததுக்கொண
டும்ததப்பணததைஇராசாவுக்குக்கொடுததனுப்பிவிச்சார் அப்போது இராசா வெகுச
நதோசப்படடுஅவனாவர்வளேதது உடையானசெது பதியெனகிற பேருங கொடுதது
ஆனைகுதிரையளுஙகுடுததுவஷததிராபூசணுதியளுஙகுடுததுச்சிறிது விருதுகளுங குடுத
துஅநதச்சீமைக்கிப்படடாபிசேகமுஞ்சூடடிவிச்சுஅனுப்பிவிச்சார் அப்போது அநத
உடையான செதுபதியாகிறவர்இராமனுதபுாததிலமண் கோட்டையும்போடடு இராச
தானிபணணிக்கொணடிருநதார் அவருக்குப்பிறகாலம் அவர்குமாான கூததனசெது
பதிபடடஙகடடிக்கொணடுவடக்குவடடகைகாளேயார் கோவிலிலபடடமஙகலநாடுமு
தலக்கொணடுஅநதச்சீமையெலலாம்சுபாதினப்படுததிவிச்சுக்கொணடு அரமனைக்குத
தோப்பாப்பணமும்கொடுததுக்கொணடுஇருநதார்ப்படிஇருக்கையில ரவுததிரி - ௲
முதலவிரோதிகிறுது - ௲ - வரைக்கும் - ௲௫௱௯ - சாலிவாகனசகாறதம் - ௲௫௱௯௨ - அவ
ருக்கு மூணுகுமாரர்முததுவிரப்பனுயக்கர் திருமலைநாயக்கர் குமார்முததுநாயக்கர்இர
ணடுமூனறுபேர்குமாராகப்பிறநதுமுததுவீரப்பனுயக்கருக்குப்படடமுஙகடடிஅ
வர்பெரியதுரையும்திருமலைநாயக்கர்சினனததுரையுமாகயிருநதுவிகுறுதி - ௲ - முத
லதுனமதி - ௲ - வரைக்கும் - ௲௫௱௯௨ - இராச்சியம்ஆணடார் அப்போதுசாலிவாகன
சகாறதம் - ௲௫௱௪௯௪ - அவருக்குப்பிறகாலம்இராசாதிருமலைனுயக்கர்மதுரையிலப்ப
டடஙகடடிக்கொணடுஅவர்தம்பிகுமார்முததுநாயக்கர்சினனததுரையுமாகஇராச்சிய
ம்ஆளேயிலசீரஙகம்மதுராமுதலக்கொணடுவிஷ்டடிணு தலஙகளசிவதலஙகளுக்கெல்லா
ம்தொணணூததிஆறுகோபுரம்ராயர்கோபுரமெனறுகோபுரம்யெலலாம்பெருசாயஒ
ருமுகிறததில அடிப்போடடுசிறுதுவேலையள முடிததார்மதுரையிலதெறபக்குள
மும்புதுமணடபமும் அரமனையுஙகடடிவைச்சார் அப்போது கூததனசெதுபதிகுமார்
னதளவாயசெதுபதிசடைக்கததேவனெனறும்அவருக்குஇாணடுநாமகறணம் அநதச்
சடைக்கததேவனெனகிறவர் அரமனைக்கிப்பணமுஙகுடாமலநிகாரிததுரொம்பததுற்
மார்கஙகளாயநடப்பிததுக்கொணடுவநதார்கள அதுசமாசாரம்இராசாதிருமலைநாயக்
கர்கேடடுஅவருக்குததாகிதையாயநிருபம்யெளுதிஅனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள அநத நிருபத
தையுநதளளிப்போனமனுசரையுமடிததுக்கோபம்வைததுததளவாயஇராமப்பயய
ரையும்சகலதளமும்யெருபததிரணடுபாளேயகாரரையுமனுப்பிஇராமனுதபுரததுவரை
க்குஞ்சணடைபணணிக்கோடடையைவிடடுப்போடடுசடைக்கததேவர் ராமேசுபரத

SECTION 7.—*Periya-Virapa-Naicker repels an invasion from the king of Mavalivanam—and erects various buildings—leaves three sons—being succeeded by the eldest—Visvapa-Naicker reigns twenty years—Cumara-Kistnapa-Naicker reigns seventeen years—Casturi-Rangapa-Naicker reigns seven years—is succeeded by Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker.*

In the reign of *Periya-Virapa-Naicker*, the king of *Mavalivanam* came with hostile intent, placed a fortified camp before *Mana-mathurai* and *Kalaiyar-covil*, and conquered some places in the *Pandion* country; but *Virapa-Naicker* conquered him, and took possession of his country, joining it to his own. He also built a small fort (or "an Arab fort," *various reading*) to the south of Tritchinopoly, and erected a wall round the temple at *Sittambaram*, (Chillambram). Besides he built many *agraras* as public charities. He reigned from *Saumiya* year down to *Iva* year, being twenty-seven years. This was in *S.S.* 1438, (or A.D. 1516).

He had three sons, who were named respectively *Visvapa-Naicker*, *Cumara-Kistnapa-Naicker*, and *Casturi-Rangapa-Naicker*. Among these, the eldest, *Visvapa-Naicker*, was crowned; and his brother, *Cumara-Kistnapa-Naicker*, was second to him in power: and these reigned from *Dathu* year down to *Manmatha* year, or *S.S.* 1458, (A. D. 1536,) being twenty years. After him, (that is, *Visvapa-Naicker*,) the crown devolved on *Cumāra-Kistnapa-Naicker*, and *Casturi-Rangapa-Naicker* was his second in power: and these reigned from *Dunmiki* year down to *Paritabi* year, *S.S.* 1475, (A. D. 1553,) being seventeen years. After him, as his son, *Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker*, was a child, his younger brother, *Casturi-Rangapa-Naicker*, was crowned, and reigned seven years; from *Piramatichu* down to *Sittarti* year, *S.S.* 1482, (A.D. 1560). After him, his elder brother, *Cumara-Kistnapa-Naicker's* son, named *Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker*, was crowned.

திலப்போயிருநதார்தளவா யிராமப்பயயன்வர்கள பாம்பநாததுக்கு குறுக்கைஅணைக
டடிஅதினபேரில தளததைநடததிஇராமீசுரததுக்குப்போய சணடைபணணிசடைக்
கத்தேவனையும்பிடிததுக்கொணடுவநதுமதுரையிலநிகளபநதனம்பணணிஇருநததில
ச்சிறுதுனளைக்கிப்பிறகுராமேசுபர்ம்பாதைமாறகஙகளிலச்சில்லறையளாயிருநதது
அப்படியிருக்கையிலவயிராகியளலாடசனனுசியளவடக்கேயிருநதுஇராமேசுரயாததி
ரைக்குவநதுஇராசா அர்மனைவாசலிலவெகுனாளவரைக்கும்காததிருநதுபிரறுதிபணணி
விச்சுச்செதுபதியைவிடச்சொலவிரெம்பவேணடிக்கொணடார்களராசாவுக்குரெம்ப
ததயவுவநதுசடைக்கனசெதுபதியை விடடு இனிமேலபுததியாயநடநதுக்கோவெண
றுவஷததிர்பூசணதியளுடம்வெகுமதிகொடுததுசீமையும்கொடுததுஅனுப்பிவிச்சார்க
ளஅவருக்குப்பிளளைகளஇலலாததினலேஅவருக்குப்பிறகாலம்அவர்மருமகனனரெகு
னததேவரைப்படடஙகடடிஅவர் படடுக்கோடடைமனனர்கோவிலவரைக்குஞ்சீ
மையாக இராச்சியமாணடுகொணடிருக்கையிலமயூரார்வெகுகுதிரைததளஞசேகரித
துக்கொணடுவநதுமதுரையினபேரிலவநதுஇறஙகிசீமையெலலாம்அவர்களயாபிச்சுக்
கொணடார்களஅப்போதுராசாதிருமலைநாயக்கர்செதுபதிக்குச்சீடடெழுதியனுப்பி
விச்சார் அநதச்சீட்டைவாசித்துக்கொண்டநாளியலுக்குசெதுபதிஅறுபதி னயிர்ஞச
னததுடனேசேகர்ஞசெயிதுகொணடுவநதுமயூர்பாளையததையுமடிததுக்கணவாயவ
ரைக்கும்விர்டடிச்செயம்பணணிக்கொணடுஇராசாயிடததுக்குவநதார்ப்போஇராசா
ரெம்பசநதோசமாகிஅர்மனையிலவிருநதுபணணிஆனைகுதிரைஅனேகவஷததிர்பூசண
திகளுங கொடுததுதிருமலைசசெதுபதியெனறுபேருஙகொடுததுததாமேருகிறசிஙக
முகப்பலலக்குஙகொடுததுகுடைமேலசசலவிமுதலாகியவிருதுகளுஙகொடுததுதமக்
குககுமார்வற்கமெனறுநீதாப்பாப்பணமும்வேணடாமெனறுசறுபமானியமாகததள
ளிக்குடுததுஅதுமுதலக்கொணடுதோப்பாப்பணஙகுடாமலசீமையாணடுகொணடு
இராமனுதபுரஙகோடடையுஙகலக்கோடடையாக்க்கடடிக்கொணடியிருநதரர்துனமதி
ஹூ-முதலக்கொணடுபிலபவ - ஹூ -வரைக்கும்- ஹூசய-வரைக்குஞ்சீமையாணடார்
சகாறதம்தூடு௱அ௰ச-அவருக்குப்பிறகாலம் அவர்குமார்ன்முத்துவீரப்பனயக்கருக்கு
ப்பட்டமும்திருமலைனயக்கர்தம்பிகுமாரமுததுனயக்கர் குமார்னகுமார்ரெஙகப்பனு
யக்கருக்குசசினனததுரைப்படடமாகசுபகிறுது-ஹூ-முதலவிரோதகிறுதுவரிசம்வ
ரைக்கும்-ஹூய - வரைக்கும்சகாறதம் - தூடு௱கூ௰ச - இராசசியமாணடார்கள அவருக
குப்பிறகாலம்அவர்குமார்னசொககனுதனயககர்வர்களுககுபபடடமும்குமார்ரெஙக

Section 8.—*Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker builds a town and temple—makes a grant of part of the Marawa province to Udiyan—he enlarges the grant, adding the title of Sethopathi—Udiyan is succeeded by his son Kuttan—Mutthu-Kistnapa rules down to S.S.* 1512—*and leaves three sons.*

In his time he caused many temples to be built, tanks to be dug, and *agraras* to be constructed. He also built a town, named *Kistnapuram,* midway between Madura and Secander-hill; and a *Saiva* temple, named *Muttu-Kistnesvaren,* in the town called *Kayataru.*

During his reign the establishment of the kingdom of the *Sethopathi* took place, in the following manner: that is to say, the first person to whom the country was given, was named *Udiyan-Sethopathi.* At that time the whole of the country around Ramiseram was in an anarchical state; each town having its fortress, and paying no tax or tribute whatsoever: in every direction waste forest-like lands appeared; rapine also prevailed; and the people bearing presents sent by the king, to the temple at Ramiseram, were scattered on the way towards the isthmus named *Sethu,* and the temple itself; when, being thus divided, what they carried was forcibly taken from them as spoils, and the bearers of the same were killed. At that time the chief *guru* (or spiritual adviser) of *Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker,* who was invested with the title of *kartarcal* (or lord), had occasion to go to Ramiseram; when the chief man of the village of *Pugalur,* who was named *Udiyan-Sethopathi,* escorted the chief *guru* safe to Ramiseram, without allowing him to suffer any insult or molestation by the way; and, in like manner, also safely conducted him back again to Madura. Being greatly pleased with this attention, the chief *guru* introduced *Udiyan* to the king *Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker,* procuring an interview, praising him as a skilful guide and safeguard on the road to *Sethu;* and in consequence *Udiyan* received a grant of certain people and lands, with villages, as also an honorary dress and various ornaments as presents: on being dismissed, he returned to *Pugalur;* and there built a fort, assembled some forces, and, by their aid, subdued and took possession of all the anarchical and disorderly country, reducing the inhabitants under his own dominion. He also collected a considerable sum of money in this country, in the way of taxes; and

ப்பநாயக்கர்குமாரன்குமாருதிருமலைநாயக்கருக்குச்சின்னததுரைப்பட்டமுமாகஇரு
நதுபதினாறுவரிசம்பரிதாவி -௵- முதலபிறபவ -௵- வரைக்கும்சகாறதம் - துசூாய
இராச்சியம்ஆண்டுயிருக்கையிலருததுமுக்கானைச்சொக்கநாதநாயககர்பிள்ளையாகவ
ளாததுஅவருககுஅதிகாரஙகொடுததததில அவர்களசாதியார்துலுககரைப் பிறபலப்படுத
திகோட்டைகொத்தளஞ்சகலமும்அவர்கள்பாரிசம்பண்ணிக்கொண்டு இராசாவைஅர
மனைவிட்டுவெளியில வராதபடிககுவாசலிலேபாராவைத்துச்சீமையெல்லாம்வியாப்பிச்
சுக்கொண்டிருநதார்அப்போதுஇராசாசொக்கநாதநாயக்கர்கிளவனசெதுபதிக்கிச்சீ
ட்டெழுதிஅனுப்பிவிச்சார்அந்தச்சீட்டுக்கொண்டுவந்தவுடனேசெதுபதிஇருபதினாயி
ரஞ்சனத்துடனேவநதிருநததுமுகானையும்வெட்டிதலையறுததுக்கொண்டுஅவனுடனே
சேநததுலுக்கரையெல்லாம்வெட்டிருநததுமுகானதலையை இராசாவிடததுக்குக்கொடு
ததனுப்பிவிச்சார் உடனே இராசாவெளியே வநதுகிளவன செதுபதிக்கிச்சகலவெகும
தியும்பண்ணிஇராமநாதபுரததுக்குஅனுப்பிவிக்சார்பின்னையுஞ்சிறுதுநாளிருநதுசொ
க்கநாதநாயக்கருககுககாலஞ்சென்றுபோய அவர்குமாரன்ரொஙககிஷ்டிண முததுவீ
ரப்பநாயககருககுப்பட்டமும்குமாருதிருமலைநாயககர்குமாரன்பங்காருதிருமலைநாய
ககருககுசின்னததுரைப்பட்டமுமாகயேழுவருசம்இராச்சியமாண்டார்களவிப -௵
முதலபவ-௵- வரைககும்சகாறதம்- துசூாயஎ- அவருககுப்பிறகாலம்அவர்குமாரன்வி
ஜையரொஙகசொககநாதநாயககர்பட்டததுககுவநது மூனு மாததைககுளநதையான
தினாலேமஙகமமாள பெரனுககுபதினெட்டுவருசமாகிறவரைக்கும்இராச்சியபரிபாலி
னம்பண்ணிஅனேக அககிராரஙகள தேவாலயஙகள சததிரங்கள கட்டியிருககையிலஒரு
நாளதாம்பூலம்போடடுககொள்ளுகிறபோது இடதுகையாலமறநதாப்போலேவெத்
திலைமடிப்புவாஙகிப்போட்டுக்கொண்டபடியினாலேஅதுககுஇடதுகையினால்வாங்கிப்

bringing the same to the king, *Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker*, delivered it over to him. The king being very much gratified with this proceeding, gave him an unrestricted grant for additional people; instructed him to see the forest-lands, which yielded no revenue, cleared and cultivated; and wrote letters to the people, commanding their submission to his viceroy. According to this ordinance, the latter, when he returned, assembled additional forces, and took possession of a greater tract of country; the revenue arising from which he appropriated in part to his own and his people's expenses, and sent the remainder, or surplus, to the king. On this the king, being greatly pleased, sent for him, and invested him with the title of *Sethopathi*, as *Udiyan-Sethopathi*, (or *Udiyan* the chief of *Sethu*); bestowing on him elephants and horses, with vestments and ornaments; and also gave him some banners, or ensigns of dignity; and, in Madura, had him consecrated to his viceroyalty, by sprinkling of the water of the Ganges: he then gave him audience of leave.

After this *Udiyan-Sethopathi* built a mud fort at *Ramanatha-puram* (Ramnad), and ruled in the fashion of a king. On his decease, his principality descended to his son, named *Kuttan-Sethopathi*, who subdued to himself *Vadaku-vettakai*, *Kaliyar-kovil*, *Patta-mangala-nadu*, with the whole circumjacent country; and carried the surplus amount of taxes to the palace (at Madura).

These things being accomplished, *Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker* ruled from *Ravuttira* year down to *Virothikirathi* year, or thirty years; corresponding with *S.S.* 1512, (or A.D. 1590). He left three sons, named *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, *Tirumali-Naicker*, and *Cumara-Mutthu-Naicker*.

SECTION 9.—*Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker rules thirty-two years—is succeeded by Tirumali-Naicker—who erects various buildings—the Sethopathi rebels, is expelled, taken prisoner at Ramiseram, and put in fetters at Madura—is released at the intercession of religious pilgrims—is succeeded by Regu-natha-dever, who, as Trimul-Naig's general, repels a Mysore invasion, and is in consequence greatly honored—after a reign of forty years, Trimul-Naig leaves his crown to his son.*

Among these two or three sons, the crown devolved on *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*,

போடடதுதோசமென்கிறதாய அநதத தோசம்பரிகார்த துககுகாசி முதல்ராமேசு பர்ம்கனனியா குமரிமறறயிடஙகளெலலாம்சாலையளவைத துதெறபககுளஙகளசததிர் ஙகள நீர்மோர்பநதலஅனன தானம்மறறததான தறமஙகளும்பணணிவெகுதூர்ம்வரை க்கும்கீறதிவிளஙகும்படியாயச்செயிதுயிவ-௵-முதலநநதன-௵-வரைககும்சகாற தம்-தகூாருடு-பதினெடடுவருஷததுககும்மஙகம்மாளராச்சியம்அதினபேரிலமங கம்மாளபோனபிறகுவிசையரெஙகச்சொககநாதனுயககர்விசெய-௵-முதலவிரோத கிறுது-௵-வரைககும்சகாறதம்-தகூாருடுச-கரு-டுசு௵-துரைததனனம்பணணி னர்கள ஸ்ரீரெஙகருககுமிருநத ஆபர்ணஙகளகடடளைக கிருமஙகளவிசெடமாயவிடடுக் கொடுததுமறறததலஙகளெல்லாம்அநதப்படிககிச்செயிதுஅவருந தெயவீகமானர் அ வருககுப்பிளளைகளிலலாததினுலேவஙகாருதிருமலைநாயககர்படடததுககுடையவரா னபடியினுலே அவர்குமார்னைவிசைய ரெஙகச சொககனுதனுயககர் பெணசாதிமீனுட் சிஅம்மாளதனககுமஞசள நீர்குடிததுத ததுப்புததிர்னுக வாஙகியவருககுப்படடங கடடவேணுமெனறுவஙகாருதிருமலை நாயககனைகுடுககச சொலலிக கேடடார்கள வர் சொனனது அநதப்படடம்நானகடடிககொளள வேனயெனககுப்பிறகுயென குமார்ன ப்படடஙகடடிககொளளவானபிளளையைககுடுககிறதிலலையெனறுதாமேபடடஙகடடிக கொணடுபுது அர்மனையிலிருநது சமஷ்ததானததிலுளள சறுவததிராளும்வஙகாருதிரு மலைநாயககருடனேசேநதிருநதார்களமீனுட்சிஅம்மாளுட அணணன தம்பிமாரும்அ வர்களுடனெசேந்தசன்மும்மீனுட்சியம்மாளுட்னெசெந்தார்களராசசியமெல்லாம்வ ஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கருக்குளளேயிருநதுதுபணம்பொக்கிஷம்நகைவகையள சகலமு ம் அர்மணையிலமீனுட்சியம்மாள வசமாகயிருநதுது அப்படியிருக்கையில மீனுட்சியம் மாளசநதாசாயபுக்குயெளுதிக்கொணடாளிதுசமாசார்ம்வஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கர்றி

who was chief, and *Tirumali-Naicker* was his second in power. The rule of the first was thirty-two years, from *Vicrothi* year down to *Dunmathi* year; corresponding with *S. S.* 1544, (or A. D. 1622). After, *Tirumali-Naicker* was king, being crowned in Madura; and his younger brother, named *Cumara-Mutthu-Naicker*, was second to him in power. In his time, from Srirangham to Madura he built ninety-six towers of temples, which were called *Rayer-Kobarams*, causing the whole of the work to begin in one *muhurtam* of time (or simultaneously); but only a part of it was finished. In Madura itself he built a new *mandabam* (or choultry); had a *terpa-kulam* (or sacred reservoir) dug; and erected a new palace. At that time the son of *Kuttan-Sethopathi* was named *Dalava-Sethopathi*, and also *Sadaica-deven*, being so called after his father and mother. That *Sadaica-deven* did not send revenue to the palace; was contumacious; and conducted himself every way in a very bad manner. *Tirumali-Naicker*, the king, hearing this intelligence, wrote him a *takid*, (or letter,) in strongly cautionary terms. But he rejected the letter; and ordered the messengers who carried it to be beaten. The king, incensed, summoned the seventy-two *palliya-carers*, and with them a strong force; at the head of which he placed *Dalava-Ramapaiyen*, who advanced, fighting his way, as far as to *Ramanatha-puram*, (Ramnad,) whence the rebellious chief, *Sadaica-deven* was expelled, and flying, took refuge in the island of Ramiseram. *Dalava-Ramapaiyen* caused a bridge to be thrown across the Pamban river, (or strait,) and advancing over it to Ramiseram, he fought with *Sadaica-deven*, and took him prisoner, carrying him afterwards to Madura; where, being chained by the legs, he was put in close captivity.

Some time after, in the roads and other places of the Ramnad country disturbances and robberies appeared. In consequence several *Vairagis*, and *Lada-sanniyasis*, (religious pilgrims,) who had come from the north to go to Ramiseram, now beset the gate of the palace for a length of time with complaints, and earnestly besought that the *Sethopathi* might be restored. The king, relenting, was graciously pleased to release the said *Sadaica-Sethopathi*, and, calling him to his presence, remonstrated with him; and, exhorting him for the future to conduct himself with greater wisdom, gave him vestments and presents, restored to him the country, and sent him away. As the *Sethopathi* was without male offspring, after his decease,

ததுநபாபுசபுதலவிகானுக்குயெழுதிக்கொணடார்களநபாபுசபுதலவிகானுஞ்சந்தாசா
யபும்பதினுயிரங்குதிரையுடனேதிருச்சினுப்பளளிக்கோடடைக்குவெளியேவநதுஇற
ஙகினர்களஅப்போது வஙகாருதிருமலை நாயக்கர் நபாபுசபு தலவிகானைப் பேடடிபண
ணிக்கொணடு தம்முடைய சமாசாரமெலலாஞ சொலலிக்கொணடார்களதின பேரிலந
பாபுசபுதலவிகான சமஷத தானததிலஉளள சருவததிராளையும் வரவளை ததுஞாயபூறு
வீரகமாவிசாரிச்சார்கோடடைக்கும்ராச்சியததுக்கும்வஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கர்உடை
யவரலலாதுமீனாட்சிஅம்மாளுக்குஆண்பிளளையிலலாததினாலேமீனாட்சிஅம்மனுக்கு
அவளோடேபிறநதஅண்ணனதம்பிமாருக்கும் துரைததனஞசெலலாது துரைததனம்
பணணின ராசாவினுடைய ராணியாகச்சேஅம்மாளுக்கு மவளுடைய அண்ணன தம்பி
மாருக்கும் அவர்களை நம்பின சனததுக்கும் ராசாவிசையரெஙகச்சொக்கனாதநாயககரி
ருக்கிறமுனனுக்குஎன்னகடடளை நடநததோ அநதக்கடடளை அவர்களுக்குக்குடுததுவ
ருகிறதுஅநதஅம்மாளுடையநகைவகைசொநதபொக்கிஷம்அநதஅம்மாளுக்குக்குடு
ததுவிடுகுறதுமததஅரமனைபொக்கிஷமெலலாம்ஆனைகுதிரை நகைவகைசகலமும்வங
காருதிருமலை நாயக்கரவர்களவசம் பணணிவிச்சுப் போடச்சொலலியும்படடக்காணிக்
கைமுப்பதுலெட்சம்ரூபாயதீததுவாயிதாவைததுக்கொணடுவாயிதாப்பிரகாரங்குடுக்
கச்சொலலிவஙகாரு திருமலைநாயக்கரவர்கள கையினாலே எழுதிக்கொடுக்கச் சொலலிவா
ஙகிக்கொணடுசநதாசாயபையிருநது இநதப்படி திடடம்பணணிவச்சொலலிநபாபு
சபுதலவிகானஆர்க்காடடுக்குப்போயவிடடார்களவர்போனதினபிறகு மீனாட்சியம்மா
ளும்அண்ணனதம்பிமாரும்ஆலோசனைபணணிக் கோடிரூபாய கொடுக்கிறது யெனறு
சநதாசாயபுஇடததிலப்பேசினதில அவர் அநதப்பட்சததில யேறபடடுக்கொணடுவங
காருதிருமலைநாயக்கருக்குஇனறைக்கிநாளைக்கெனறுப் போக்காயச்சொலலிக்கொண

his daughter's husband, named *Regu-natha-dever*, was crowned. He exercised authority from *Patta-kottai* to *Manar-kovil*.

While so ruling, the Mysoreans, having assembled a large body of cavalry, came and invaded Madura, and encamped in a part of the country, while they filled and took possession of nearly the whole kingdom. Hereupon the king, *Tirumali-Naicker*, wrote a letter to the *Sethopathi*, who, immediately on seeing it, took the promptest measures, and raised at once sixty thousand troops; with these he advanced, attacked and routed the Mysore camp, and pursued them even to the ascent of the *Ghats*, or mountain passes leading to their country. Having thus conquered, he returned to the king, who was intensely pleased; gave him an entertainment in the palace; bestowed on him horses, elephants, and splendid garments; and honored him with the name, or title, of *Tirumali-Sethopathi*. Besides, he presented him with his own lion-faced palanquin (a peculiar emblem of royalty); gave him a banner, and a *mel-chelli*, (or canopy,) with other ensigns. He treated him also as if his own son; and dispensed with all demands of tribute, even to the smallest fraction. From that time forwards the *Sethopathi* ruled, not as a tributary but independently; and built for himself a stone fort at Ramnad.

Tirumali-Naicker reigned from *Dunmathi* year down to *Pilapava* year, being forty years. He died in *S. S.* 1584 (A. D. 1662). After him his son, *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, was crowned.

SECTION 10.—*Cumara-Ranga-Naicker reigns ten years—is succeeded by Choka-Natha-Naicker, who, placing confidence in Rustam-Khan, is deposed, and imprisoned by him—but is restored, and Rustam killed by Kilaven-Sethopathi—Ranga-Kistna-Naicker rules seven years—regency of Mangamala.*

Along with him, *Cumara-Ranga-Naicker*, the son of *Tirumali-Naicker's* younger brother, *Cumara-Mutthu-Naicker*, was the second in power. *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* reigned from *Subakirathi* year down to *Virothikirathi* year, being ten years, or *S. S.* 1594 (A. D. 1672). After him his son, *Choka-Natha-Naicker*, was crowned, and *Cumara-Tirumali-Naicker*, the son of *Cumara-Rangapa-Naicker*, was his second in

டெவநதுமீனாட்சிஅம்மாளுடஅண்ணனவெங்கிட்டடப்பெருமாளனாயக்கனை காவேரிக்
கரையிலததள வாயமணடபததிலப் போயிருநதுஉஙகளுக்கு ராச்சியமுநதுரைததன
மும்பண்ணிததருகிறோமென்றுசததியம்பணணிக்கொடுததுக்கோடிரூபாயதார்சசொ
லலிஅநதக்கோடிரூபாய்க்குஇடும்முன துரையளசம்பாததியம் நகைவகையளயானைகு
திரைசகலமுமக்கோடிரூபாயக்கிவிலைக்காடடிக்கொடுததார்கள இதைவாஙகிக்கொணடு
சநதாசாயபு கோடடைக்குளளேபோய அவர்களுக்குக்குமுக்காக இறஙகினார்வஙகாரு
திருமலைநாயக்கரினி மேலிருநதால நமக்கு மோசம் வருமென று வெளியேறிமதுரைக்
குவநதுமதுரைதிருநெலவெலிததிணடுக்கலிநதமடடுசசீமைததம்மிடவசமாகஆண
டுகொண்டிருக்கையிலஅப்போதுசநதாசாயபு மீனாட்சிஅம்மாளுடமனுசனாககோவி
நதஅயயன ராவணயயனுக்குததளகறததப்பிறதானிக்கங கொடுததுஎணணாயிரங குதிரை
யுஙகூடடிசசிறுததளமுஙகூடடியனுப்பிவிசசுததிணடுகலலுமேலே வநதுயிறஙகிஅந
தக்கோடடையும்வாஙகிக்கொணடுமதுரைமேலேவர் வேணுமெனறுயிருக் கையிலவங
கார் திருமலை நாயக்கர்முததுவெஙகுடயயனுக்குததளகறதப்பிரதானிக்கங கொடுதது
ரெணடாயிரஙகுதிரையுஞசிறுததளததுடனேஅம்மைய நாயக்கர்பாளையப்படடிலே
போயிரஙகிராவணயயன கோவிநதயயன பேரிலச சணடைபணணசசொலவிசணடை
யானதிலவர்யெணணாயிரங குதிரையும்வெகு தளமுமானதினாலே முததுவெஙகிடயய
னதளம்கொஞசமானதினாலேஇநததளமடிபடடுமுததுவெஙகிடடயயனஅவுதாவை
வநதுசுததிக்கொணடார்கள அவுதாவிலிருநது கொணடு தம்மிடததிலிருநத அம்பெல
லாம்யெயதுவெகு குதிரைவரைக்கும்ச சேதப்படுததிவிசசுமுததுவெஙகிடயயனதெ
வீகமாயப்போனார் அப்போது மதுரைமேலே பாளையம் வநதிதுவஙகாருதிருமலைநா
யக்கருக்குததளமிலலாததினாலேமதுரையைவிடடுஉடையாததேவர்சீமைசிவகெஙகை

power. He reigned from *Paritabi* year down to *Prabava* year, being sixteen years, or *S. S.* 1610 (A. D. 1688). *Choka-Natha-Naicker* had adopted a Mahomedan youth, named *Rustam-Khan*, and having brought him up with care, he confided to him a situation of power. The relatives of the young man patronized and greatly distinguished the Mahomedans: the defences of the fort, with the fort itself, were entirely intrusted to these persons; and, under these circumstances, *Rustam* confined the king to his palace, putting a guard over him to prevent his leaving it; and then usurped the whole country. The king, *Choka-Natha-Naicker*, hereupon wrote a letter to the *Sethopathi*, then named *Kilaven.* As soon as the letter was delivered to him, the *Sethopathi* assembled twenty thousand troops; came, and killing *Rustam-Khan*, cut off his head; scattered and slaughtered the adherents of the latter; and then sent *Rustam's* head to the king. Immediately the king came forth, and bestowed every mark of attention on *Kilaven-Sethopathi;* sending him back to Ramnad. *Choka-Natha-Naicker* lived a little while after this event, and then died.

His son, *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, was crowned; and the son of *Cumara-Tirumali-Naicker*, named *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, was his second in power. The former reigned seven years, from *Viba* year down to *Bava* year, or *S. S.* 1617 (A. D. 1695).

After him his son, *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-Natha-Naicker*, came to the throne by right; but was a child of only three months old. In consequence his grandmother, (his father's mother,) *Mangamala*, as regent, conducted the affairs of her grandson's kingdom for eighteen years.

Section 11.—*Mangamala, during her regency, erects buildings, constructs roads, and plants avenues; and becomes celebrated for these and other charities—Vijia-Ranga-Naicker succeeds on his coming of age—he endows Seringham and other pagodas—reigns nineteen years.*

During her regency, *Mangamala* had many *agraras*, temples, and choultries built. But one day, while eating beetle-leaf and areca-nut, she forgetfully took the same with

க்கிவநதார்உடையாததேவரெதிர்க்கொணடுவநதுக்கூட்டிப்போயவெளிக்குறிச்சி
யும்சிறுதகிருமஙகளும்விடடுக்குடுததது அவடததிலிருநதார்களராவணயயனகோவிந
தயயனதிருநெலவெலிச்சீமைவரைக்கும்பாளையப்படடுகளச்சீமையளுஞசுவாதீனப்
படுததிக்கொணடுதிருச்சிணுப்பளளிக்கிவநதார்களசீமையெலலாம்பநதுமஷததுவான
படியினலே மீனுட்சியம்மாளை அர்மனையைச்சுததிப் பாராவைததுக்கோடடை யெல
லாநதம்முடசனததைப்பாராவைததுபததிர்ம்பணணிமீனுட்சியம்மாளவகைச்சனமு
ம்அவர்களஅணணனதம்பிமாரையுஙகோடடைக்கிவெளியேபோகச்சொனனுர்களமீ
னுட்சியம்மாளும்வஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கரும்பரிதாபி-௵-முதலநள-௵-வரைக்
கும்அஞ்சுவரிசம்ராச்சியமாண்டார்கள்அப்போசாலிவாகனசகாநதம்-தூசூாடுயகூ-அ
தின்பிறகுமீனுட்சியம்மாளும்தெயவீகமாகப்போனுர்வஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கர்ச்சிவ
கெஙகையிலிருநதுப்புளுச்சாததாருக்குமராடடியாருக்குககாகிதமெளுதி அனுப்பிவிச்
சார்களஅவடததிலிருநதுபததேசிஙகுரகொசிகொசலாவும்அறுபதினயிரஙகுதிரையும்
திரிச்சிணுப்பளளிக்கோடடையைச்சுததியிறஙகிசிறுதுளளசசணடைபணணிசநதாசா
யபுதம்பிவடெசாயபையும்அதம்பணணிசநதாசாயபையும்பிடிததுக்கொணடுமுராரி
ராயரைக்கோடடையிலேவைததுவஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கரைவர்வளைததுபடடஙகடடி
ச்சீமை அவர்வசஙகொடுததுபடடக்காணிக்கைமுப்பதுலெட்சம்ரூபாயவாஙகிக்கொ
ணடுமுராரிராயரையிருநதுவர்சசொலலிசிறுதுகுதிரையும்வைததுப்போடடுபததே
சிஙகிரகொசிபொசலாஇவர்களசீமைக்கிப்போயவிடடார்களபிஙகள-௵-முதலகால
யுததி-௵-வரைக்கும்அப்போதுசகாறதம்-தூசூாசூயக-முராரிராயர்வஙகாருதிரு
மலைநாயக்கரைக்கூட்டிக்கொணடுவர்சொலலிஉடையாததேவருக்குக்காகிதம்வநதிது
இவர்களும்பயணம்போகவேணுமெனறுயிருக்கையில்அயதராபாதரிலிருநதுநிசாம்

her left hand. Considering the taking this indulgence with the left hand to be a serious crime, in order to remove its consequences, she constructed roads, with avenues of trees, from *Casi*, to Ramiseram, to *Canya-Cumari* (Cape Comorin), and to other places; and, on the same account, had *terpa-kulams* (or reservoirs) dug, choultries built, and water-booths constructed: she gave away food, and performed other charities; so that her name became renowned to a great distance; and thus, from *Iva* year down to *Nandana* year, or *S. S.* 1635 (A. D. 1713), being eighteen years, she governed the kingdom. Afterwards, the grandson of *Mangamala*, the before-mentioned *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-Natha-Naicker*, ruled from *Vijeya* year down to *Virothikirathi* year, *S. S.* 1654 (A. D. 1732), or nineteen years. He gave many rich jewels to *Srirangham;* endowed it with many tithe-lands; and made many like presents to many other sacred places. He also became deified.

SECTION 12.—*A disputed succession—Minatchi-Ammal writes to Chunda-Saheb, and Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker to the Nabob of Arcot—who adjusts the difference—and returns to Arcot, leaving the completing of the settlement to the care of Chunda-Saheb.*

As he left no children, *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker,* (before-mentioned as second in power to *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu,*) being the rightful heir to the throne, was opposed by *Minatchi-Ammal,* (the widow of *Vijia-Ranga,*) who proposed to *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, to adopt his son as her own; to whom the crown should devolve on his coming to maturity, leaving her, in the interim, regent and guardian. He replied, "I will assume the crown myself, and after me let my son reign." He did so, not giving her his son, but assuming the power to himself. He resided in a new palace; and all the usual dependants on the court and authorities of the capital were joined with *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker.* With *Minatchi-Ammal* remained her elder and younger brothers, and her own immediate retainers. The power of the kingdom, with all exercise of authority, was with *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker;* while the money, the treasure, jewels of sorts, and the like, remained in the palace, and in the possession of *Minatchi-Ammal.*

அசவுசாசாயபுலட்சம் குதிரையுடனே வநதுதிருசசிணுப்பளளிமேலே யிறஙகிசசண
டைபணணிக்கோட்டையுஙகவிலமேலே அசவுசாசாயபு அவர்களவசம்விட்டுப்போட
டுப்போனுர்கள அநதமுன்னுக்குவஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கர் நிசானஅசவுசாசாயபுபே
ட்டிபணணிவிசசுக்கொணடுசமாசார்மெலலாஞ்சொனனதில அவர்கேட்டுயிநதராசசி
யத்துக்குப்பட்டத்துக்குஉடையவரொனறுநனருயவிசாரித்துப்பட்டத்துக்காணிக்கை
முப்பதுலசச்ம்ரூபாய்கொடுக்கசசொலலிக்கேட்டார்பொக்கிச்பணடார்மெலலாஞ்சந
தாசாயபுவாஙகிக்கொணடாரிப்போதுநானெப்படிச்செலுததுவேனெனறு இதுவெ
லலாம்நீஙகள நனருய விசாரிததிருப்பியள உஙகளுக்குததெரியாதததுககு நாமெனன
செய்யப்போறேமென்றுசொன்னுர்கள் ஆனுல் எப்படிகொடுப்பீரொனறு கேட்டதற
கு-௲௧-க்கு-௰-லட்ச்ம்ரூபாயவீதம்-௫௲-ததிலே-௫௰-லட்ச்ம்ரூபாயுங்கொ
டுததுவருகிறேமெனறுசொனனுர்அநதப்படிககிஅவரிடததிலகையயெழுததுவாங்கி
ககொணடுகூட்டவேகூட்டிககொணடுஆர்ககாட்டுககுப்போயநவாபுதகப்பனுர் அனவா
துகானநவாபுககுஆறககாட்டுச்சுபாவுஙகொடுததுபஙகாருதிருமலைநாயககர் கையைப்
பிடிததுநபாபு அனவாதுகான கையயிலக கொடுதது இவரும் திருச்சிணுப்பளளிககிப்
போயமுப்பதுலட்ச்ம்ரூபாயும் மூணுவரிச்சததிலவாஙகிககொளளச்சொலலியுமாமூல
ப்படிககுவரிச்சததுககுமூணுலெட்ச்ம்ரூபாயவாஙகிககொளளச்சொலலியும் உததார்ம்
பணணிஅச்வுசாசாயபுஅயதார்பாதருசகுப் போனுர்களநபாபு அனவாதுகானபஙகா
ருதிருமலைநாயககருககுதினப்படிநூறுவிராகனும் அவர்குமார்னவிசையகுமார்முதது
திருமலைநாயககருககு நூறுரூபாயும்வீதம்படிகொடுததுவநது ஆறககாட்டுச்சீமைபா
ளையகாரர்சமஷ்ததானஙகள அவர்வர்மேலப்பாளையமிறஙகிததோப்பாப் பணததுககு
வளிபண்ணிச்சீமைபந்துவஸ்த்துப்பண்ணிவிச்சுப்போட்டுவநததிருச்சிணுப்பளளியி

Matters being so situated, *Minatchi-Ammal* wrote to *Sandai-Sahib* (Chunda-Saheb) for assistance. *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker,* hearing of her having done so, wrote to the Nabob *Sabder-Ali-Khan;* the Nabob *Sabder-Ali-Khan,* and *Sandai-Sahib,* came, accompanied by ten thousand cavalry, and encamped on the outside of the fort of Trichinopoly. Thereupon *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* sought an interview with the Nabob *Sabder-Ali-Khan,* at which he unfolded the whole of his affairs. In consequence, the Nabob *Sabder-Ali-Khan* summoned all the persons connect edwith the (Madura) government to appear before him; and inquired into ancient law and custom. As a result, he decided to the following purport—that the fort and kingdom belonged, not to *Minatchi,* with her elder and younger brothers and people, seeing that she had no male child, but belonged to *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*—that whatever allowances or privileges were granted by the king, *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-Natha-Naicker,* to his *rani,* (or queen,) to her brothers, and the people dependent on her, the same should be still continued—that the queen's various jewels, and personal property, should be delivered over to her; but the public treasure in the palace, elephants and horses, and all the jewels connected with the caparison and furniture of the same, should be given over to *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker.* Besides he ordered that thirty lacs (or three millions) of rupees should be paid, by fixed instalments, as an acknowledgment for the award of the crown; took a written agreement, or bond, from *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker,* promising its due payment at the stipulated periods; and gave it in charge to Chunda-Saheb to see this agreement fulfilled. After which the Nabob *Sabder-Ali-Khan* returned to Arcot.

SECTION 13.—*Minatchi-Ammal bribes Chunda-Saheb—who enters Trichinopoly, ostensibly on her behalf, and sends an army against Dindigul, which is taken—Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker, who had retired to Madura, sends an inferior force, which is beaten, and its commander killed—Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker retires to Shevugunga—Chunda-Saheb imprisons Minatchi-Ammal, and turns her relatives and people out of the fort of Trichinopoly.*

When he had gone away, *Minatchi-Ammal,* with her elder and younger brothers,

லப்பட்டயகட்டிச்சீமைஉஙகளவச்ம்பணணிவருகிறோமெனறுசொலலிவைததுககொ
ண்டிருந்தார்களஇப்படியிருககையில்வங்காருதிருமலைநாயககர்காலஞ்சென்றுபோனா
ர்அவர்குமாரனவிசையகுமாருமுததுததிருமலைநாயககர் தகப்பனருககுககருமாநதிர
ங்களபணணுகிறததறகுததாயார்பநதுச்னஙகளசிவசெஙகைச்சீமையிலவெளளிககுறிச்சி
யிலிருநதார்களானபடியினாலே அவருககுககறமாநதிரமறறதுசெயயவேணடியததறகு
ததாயாரும்ச்முசார்ம்வநதுசனஙகளிநதச்சீமையிலிருநதபடியினாலே அவடததுககுப்
போயஅவர்களை வைததுககொணடு கறமாதியள செயய வேணு மெனறு நவாபுடனே
சொனனததறகுநவாபுஅனவாதுகானபதினாயிரம் ரூபாயசிலவுககுககுடுததுகருமாதிம
றறதும்பணணிவிச்சுஇவடததுககுவாரும்அததறகுஉளளாகச்சீமைபநதுப்பஷிததுப்ப
ணணிததிருச்சினாப்பளளிககுவநதுஉமககுப்பட்டங கட்டிவைககிறோமெனறு அனுப்
பிவிசசார்அநதப்பிறகாறததுககுஇவடததிலவநதுசெயயவேணடியகறமாதியுஞசெய
துவிசையகுமாருமுததுததிருமலைநாயககருககும் இவடததிலிருககிறபநதுசனஙகளுக்
கும்உடையாததேவர்ககலியாணம்யெததனம்பணணிசசெயததார்கள இநதகாரியததுக்
காக்சசிறுதுநாளததாமசமாயப்போயவிடடுதுஅதினபிறகு இவரும்பயணததுக்குதத
யார்ப்பணணிககொணடிருககிறவனாயிலவடககேயிருநது யினாயிதுமோதினிகானவந
துஆறககாடடுசசுபாமேலேயிறஙகிசந்தாசாயபுகூடவேவந்துஅதிலேசண்டையாய்ந
வாபுஅனவாதுகானசணடையிலிறநதுபோயநவாபுமம்முதலிகானவநதுதிருசசினாப்
பளளிவநதுசேநதார்ப்போயினாயிதுமோதினிகானும்புதுசசேரிககுப்போயபவிரா
சுககாரனாசசேகரிததுககொணடுவநது ஆறகாடடுசசுபாகட்டிக கொணடார்கள இநத
ப்படிககிகிலாபமாயிருநதபடியினாலேப்பயணமாயிருநதவிசையகுமாருமுத்துததிரு
மலைநாயககர்வெள்ளிககுறிசசியிலிருந்துவிட்டார்கள்அப்பால்சசிறுதுநாளைககிப்பிறகு

consulted together, and made a promise to Chunda-Saheb that they would give him a crore of rupees (or ten millions). He, in consequence, was brought over to their cause; and put off *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, till to-morrow, next day, and so on, by false excuses, so as not to deliver the kingdom over to him; and conducting the elder brother of *Minatchi-Ammal*, who was named *Venkata-Perumal-Naicker*, to the *Dalavayi-mandabam*, (or choultry,) on the banks of the Cauvery river, he there took an oath, engaging to deliver up the kingdom to this party; and called for a crore of rupees to be given to him: in consequence the party of *Minatchi* gave up to Chunda-Saheb, in pledge for the payment of the crore of rupees, all the jewels, elephants, horses, and property which had been amassed by former kings of Madura; specifying to Chunda-Saheb the value of each. Having received these valuables, Chunda-Saheb publicly went over to their side of the question, and entering with his troops into the fort (of Trichinopoly), took possession of it on their behalf. Upon this circumstance occurring, *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* considered himself no longer safe: and, quitting the place, proceeded to Madura. While he was ruling over that portion of the kingdom which pertained to Madura, Dindigul, and Tinnevelley, Chunda-Saheb assembled some forces, and gave command of eight thousand cavalry and some infantry to two of *Minatchi's* people, named *Govindaiyen* and *Ravanaiyen;* dispatching them from Trichinopoly: these came and sat down before Dindigul, and took it. Having done so, they threatened Madura; whereupon *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* gave the office of his general to *Mutthu-Vengadaiyen*, and with it two thousand cavalry, with some infantry, bidding him take them to *Ammiya-Naicker's palliyam*, (or district,) and there encamping to give battle to *Ravanaiyen* and *Govindaiyen*. They engaged in battle in consequence: when, as the invading party had eight thousand cavalry, and otherwise a great force, while *Mutthu-Vengadaiyen's* army was small, the latter was beaten; and *Mutthu-Vengaidaiyen* in his howdah was surrounded, and from his howdah he discharged all the arrows he had, so that many of the enemy's cavalry fell; but he at length was deified (killed in his howdah). The victorious army now came against Madura; and, as *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* had no forces, he evacuated the capital, and went to *Sivaganga*, the chief town in the country of *Udiyan-dever*, who came forth to meet him; and then escorted him, giving up to him *Vellei-curchi*, and some

ததிருசசிறுப்பள்ளிமேலேசநதாசாயபும்பிராஞசுககாரரும் வநதுகோடடை யைசசு
ததிக கொணடு சணடை பணணி ஞர்கள அப்போ சநதா சாயபு வகைக ஆலமுகான வநது
மதுரைககோடடையுஙகடடிவிசசுதிருநெலவெலிசசீமையுஙகடடி திருநெலவெலியில
நவிகானும்மதுரையில மநதிமியாவையும் நேமுகம்பணணி விசசுபோடடு ஆலமுகான
மறுபடியும்சநதாசாயபுஇடததிலததிருசசிறுப்பளளிககுப்போயவிடடார்அவர்போ
னவிடததிலப்பீரஙகிககுணடுபடடுஆலமுகானவிழுநதுபோஞன ஆலமுகான அப்போ
சிததராததி -௲-முதலபிறசொபதி-௲-வரைககும்-௲௭௱-சகாறதம்-தூசூ௱ளலு
விழுநதுப்போனசமாசார்ம்மநதிமீயாவும்நபீர்கானுங கேடடுஇவர்கள ரொணடுபேரு
மாயராம்ஞதபுர்ததுககுவநதுவெளளேயனசேருவைகாறரையுஙகூடடிககொணடுசிவ
கெஙகைதாணடருயபிளளேயையுஞசேகரிததுககொணடுவெளளிககுறிச்சியிவிருககிற
ராசவிசையகுமாறுமுததுதிருமலேநாயககர்வர்களேயும்மதுரையிலககூடடிககொணடு
போயஆஙகிலே-௲மார்களிமீ-படடஙகடடிவைததுமநதிமியயாவையும்நபீர்கானேயு
மிநதராசாவிடததிலஅவர்களசேவுகமாயபவுசுதாரிகளாகஇருநதார்களஅப்போதுஅ
ளகப்பமுதலியாருககுதளகறதமுதல முததிரையும் போடடுதளவாய முதலியாரொனறு
பேர்கொடுததார்கள அதினபிறகு திருநெலவெ விசசீர்மைககி அனுப்பிவிசசார்களனறு
முதலததளவாயமுதலியாரொனறு திருநெவெலிசசீமையிலப் படடப்பேராக அநதமரி
யாதமஇனன நடநதுவருகுது இப்படிககிசிறுது ஞளமதுரையிலததுரைததனமாகஇ
ருநததில மம்மதுகானமயாஞமமநதிமியாவுககுபெணகலியாணம்பணணிககுடுததும
ம்மதுகானமயாஞ மநதிமியயாவுககுப்போதிததுராசாவைககொணடுவநதுபடடஙக
டடிவசசிரோசீமையெல்லாம்நாமேதுரையாகயிருநதுஆணடுகொணடுவாதுபோயஇ
நதராசாவுககுககீளேநாம்சேவுகஞகசசேவிததுக கொணடிருநதால நமககு யெனன

connected villages, for his maintenance; and he there resided. *Ravanaiyen* and *Govindaiyen* having conquered and taken possession of the country as far as to Tinnevelley, including also the intermediate *palliyams*, returned to Trichinopoly. The country being thus reduced, Chunda-Saheb shut up *Minatchi-Ammal* a prisoner in the palace, around which he placed guards, and gave the charge of the fort entirely to his own people; thus securing it to himself. He next told the people of *Minatchi*, with her elder and younger brothers, to depart out of the fort.

Thus *Minatchi-Ammal* and *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* reigned together five years, from *Paritabi* year down to *Nala* year, or *S.S.* 1659 (A. D. 1737), after which *Minatchi-Ammal* was deified (or died).

Section 14.—*Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker calls in the aid of the Mahrattas—these take Chunda-Saheb prisoner, and place Murari-Rayer in charge of Trichinopoly—whose intention of reinstating Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker is prevented by the coming of the Nizam—to whom the fort is yielded up—he carries Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker to Arcot, leaving instructions for his being reinstated.*

Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker, while residing in *Sivaganga* (Shevagunga), wrote a letter to the *Marattas* at *Puna-sattara* (Poona), and in consequence the chiefs, *Batteh-Singh* and *Ragoji-Kosala*, came with sixty thousand cavalry, and, surrounding Trichinopoly, encamped before it, and fought for some time; during which they slew *Badei-Saheb*, the younger brother of Chunda-Saheb, took Chunda-Saheb prisoner, and placed *Murari-rayer* (Morari-row) in charge of the fort; instructing him to send and call *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* hither, to crown him, and give the country over to him; appointing an acknowledgment for the crown of thirty lacs of rupees, to be paid to *Murari-rayer*, whom they ordered to remain in charge with a small force of cavalry; and then *Batteh-Singh* and *Ragoji-Bosala* returned to their own country. These things occurred from *Pingala* year down to *Kaliyutti* year, (two years,) being *S.S.* 1661 (A. D. 1739).

Murari-rayer wrote a letter to *Udaiya-dever*, bidding him bring *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* along with himself. While these were preparing to set out on the journey,

காரியஙகூடிவரப்போகிதுநாளுக்குநாளாயவர்களஒசநதுபோவார்களநாம்மெலிநது
போவொமெனறுசொனஞர்களஅதறகுமநதிமியாசம்மதிப்படாமலசசீமைககிராசா
வாகியவர்களைததளளிநாமிருநதாலநமககுநிலலாதுபாரமபரியமாகததெசாதிபதியா
னதுநாலேயும்தெச்சணம்சிஙகாசனாதிபதியானதிஞலேயும்அவருககுத்தகுமேதவர
நமககுஒருநாளுஙகூடிவராதெனறுசொனஞர்அநதமயாஞவும்பததுபேர்அவர்களை
சசெநதசீமையதாரவர்களையும்ச்சேகரிததுககுருககளையுஞசேகரிததுஞளவிளம்பத
திலப்போதிகப்படடுப்போதினையளாலேஅவரும்உளப்படடுததுரையைஅவகடகம்ப
ணணிததானகடடிகசொளளவேணுமெனறுஇவர்களஆலோசினைபணணிஞர்களஇது
செயிதிவெளளையஞசேருவைகாறனும்தாணடவராயபிளளையுமறிநதுநாஙகளசும்மா
இருநதபேர்களைநீதானேவலியவநதுஎஙகளையும்ராசாவையுஙகூடடிககொணடுபோ
யப்படடஙகடடிவைததுஅவர்களஇடததிலச்சீமையதார்களாகச்சேவுகமாகஇருககு
மெனறுசொலலிநாஙகளும்நீஙகளுமாகப்படடஙகடடிஒஙகளைததானேநம்புதலாக
ராசாவையும்ஒஙகளவச்மாகவிடடுப்போடடுப்போனதினபிறப்பாடுநாஙகளநம்புத
லாகராசாவைஉஙகளவசம்பணணிவிச்சுப்போடடுப்போனஇடததிலஇப்போமோச
ம்பணணுகிறதாயநினைககலாமாயெனறுநீஙகளகோடடைவிடடுப்போஙகோவெனறு
திலஇவர்களஇருபேரும்தெறபக்குளததிலிறஙகிக்கொணடுமநதிமியாவைவெளியிலே
போகச்சொனனதிவிவர்களிருவகையிலும்வெகுசணடைநடநதுரொம்பவுஞசேதபா
தஙகளாயஉபததிரியம்வநததுராசாவிசையகுமார்முததுததிருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்களநீ
ஙகளஒனறுக்கொனறுலாவநடடஙகளவருவானேனநமக்குநலலகாலம்கூடிவரும்அப்
போதுவடக்கேயிருநதுநனநீதியுளளபிறபுகளாயவருவார்களஅப்போதுபூறுவீகத்
தைவிசாரிததுநம்மிடராச்சியம்நமக்குக்குடுததுநமக்குப்படடமுஙகடடிவைப்பார்க

the Nizam of Hyderabad, *Asuph-Sahib*, came to Trichinopoly with a hundred thousand cavalry; and, encamping before it, fought against it; when (the Marattas) delivered up the place by capitulation to the Nizam *Asuph-Sahib*. At that time *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* had an interview with the Nizam *Asuph-Sahib*, and narrated to him all the circumstances of his case, who heard the whole; and fully investigating into the rightful claimant, assigned to him the kingdom, on condition of paying the stipulated acknowledgment of thirty lacs of rupees. (*Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*) said, "The whole of the treasure went to Chunda-Saheb, how shall I be able to make the payment good? besides you have thoroughly investigated into all the circumstances of the case; and how can I tell you any thing which you do not know?" The Nizam inquired, "how will you give it?" (or, what arrangement do you propose?) He replied, "I will give at the rate of ten lacs yearly, and so pay up the whole in three years." In accordance with this proposition, the Nizam required from him a written agreement, and then took *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* along with himself to Arcot; where he gave the *Subah* (or rather Nabobship) to *Anavarda-Khan;* then taking the hand of *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* he put it into the hand of *Anavarda-Khan*, and bid the latter go to Trichinopoly, there to receive thirty lacs of rupees in the course of three years, by annual instalments of three (ten ?) lacs. After leaving these instructions, *Asuph-Sahib* returned to Hyderabad.

SECTION 15.—*Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker is kept at Arcot as a stipendiary—dies at Arcot—his son, Vijia-Cumara, goes to Velleicurchi—is married there, and hindered from returning by the irruption of Murzafa-jing and Chunda-Saheb into the Carnatic—who overthrow and slay Anavarda-Khan in battle—Mahomed-Ali retires to Trichinopoly.*

The Nabob, *Anavarda-Khan*, appointed a daily allowance to *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* of one hundred pagodas (350 rupees), and to his son, *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* a stipend of a hundred rupees, each day. Besides, he promised *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* that he would assemble the chiefs of the Arcot district, with their forces; and, with the aid of these, would go and reduce into order the

ளஅப்படியாகக்கொதத பேர்செயவிச்சால நமககுச்சாகூதமாய நடககும் ஒஙகளாலே
செயயபடாத காரியம்மானதிலே நமககு இஞசேயிருககுறதறகுச் சம்மதமிலலைநம்
மாலேநீஙகளசணடைபணணவேணடா மெனறுஉடனேபிறப்படடு ஸ்ரீமுக - ஹு ஆடி
மீ -வெளளிககுறிச்சிவநதுசேநதார்களஅவர்களகுமாரராசவிசுவனாத னாயககர்யயாவ
ர்களகுமாரரிப்போது இருககிறவர்கள வஙகாருதிருமலைனாயககர்யயாவர்களும் விசைய
குமாரமுத்துதிருமலைனாயககர்வர்களும்வெளளிககுறிச்சியிலிருககுறார்கள.

Madura country, collecting the revenue there due: and then, returning to Trichinopoly, would crown him, and afterwards deliver over to him the kingdom. But during this delay, *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker's* time was accomplished.

His son, *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, represented to the Nabob, that the mother and relatives of his deceased father were at *Velleicurchi* in the *Siva-ganga* district, and that it would, in consequence, be needful for him to go thither, to assemble the mother, family, and relatives of the deceased; and with them to perform the last solemn obsequies on account of the departed. The Nabob *Anavarda-Khan* thereupon presented him with ten thousand rupees, and giving him leave to go and perform the *Karmandiram*, * enjoined him afterwards to return to Arcot; and meantime engaged to go and settle the concerns of the Madura country, and then, returning to Trichinopoly, to crown him; and with these promises he gave him leave to depart. He accordingly came hither, and performed the usual ceremonies; and these being accomplished, *Udiya-dever* brought about his marriage to one among his own relatives. On account of this circumstance a delay for some time occurred.

Afterwards, when he was about preparing to journey (to Arcot), *Inayithu-Mothin-Khan* (*Hidayet-mohy-u'din*, or *Murzafa-jing*) came from the north, in company with Chunda-Saheb, and making a descent on the Arcot country, engaged in battle with *Anavarda-Khan*, who fell in the contest. The Nabob *Mahomed-Ali* (his son) retreated to Trichinopoly, where he safely arrived. Thereupon *Inayithu-Mothin-Khan* proceeded to *Puthucheri* (Pondichery), and joining in alliance with the French people, conquered the Soubah of Arcot. In consequence of this revolutionary state of things, *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* did not remove, but continued to reside at *Velleicurchi*.

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* *Karmandiram* is the close of the *sraddha* or funeral rites: in the case of Bramins, on the twelfth day; in the case of others, on the sixteenth day after the decease; unless great distance of relatives should make further extension needful. Some ceremonies take place during every day of this period, but the twelfth or sixteenth day is solemn and final.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

SECTION 16.—*Aluma-Khan takes Madura—is killed at Trichinopoly—his two deputies give a nominal sovereignty to Vijia-Cumara—the nabob Mahomed-Ali intrigues with the deputies—the attempt to depose the king produces an affray—the king forbids it, and abdicating the throne retires to Velleicurchi, where his descendants reside.*

Sometime afterwards Chunda-Saheb, together with the French people, came to Trichinopoly, and besieged it. Then *Aluma-Khan*, on the side of Chunda-Saheb, came and took the fort of Madura, and thence proceeded and subdued the Tinnevelley country; and appointed *Nabir-Khan* at Tinnevelley, and *Mantimiya* at Madura, as lieutenants, or governors. After doing so, *Aluma-Khan* returned to Chunda-Saheb at Trichinopoly. Immediately after his arrival he was struck with a cannon shot, and killed. The death of *Aluma-Khan* happened *S.S.* 1674 (A. D. 1752), being from (the last-mentioned date, p. 43, or) *Sittartari* year down to *Prajotpathi* year, thirteen years.

On the news of his death coming to be heard by *Mantimiya* and *Nabir-Khan*, these two persons came to *Ramanatha-puram* (Ramnad), and taking *Velleiyen-Servaicaren* with them, proceeded to *Sivaganga*, where they united with *Tandavaraya-pillay;* and the whole of these persons carried *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* to Madura, and there, in the month *Masi* of *Angila* year, they had him crowned; while *Mantimiya* and *Nabir-Khan* were under him as servants, and *fouzdaris* (or military commandants). Then *Alagappen-Muthaliar* was invested, by them, with the office of *Dalagarten* (or generalissimo); and the seals of this office being confided to him, he received the title of *Dalavayi-Muthaliar*. They then sent him into the Tinnevelley country. From that time first the title of *Dalavayi-Muthaliar*, as an honorary and royal appellation, continues to the present period.

Thus for sometime the government was conducted in Madura: when *Mahomed-Khan* gave to *Mayana-Mantimiya* a female in marriage; and afterwards tampered with him, and spoke with him thus—"So you brought the king and crowned him, notwithstanding that the whole country was mine, and was regularly conducted under my administration; now, if I submit myself to this king, and act as his servant, what

advantage will arise thence to *us?* (நமக்கு, including the person spoken to). Day by day they will increase, and *we* in proportion shall be diminished." But *Mantimiya* did not assent to this counsel: he replied, "If we eject the king from the country, the kingdom will not remain with us: as he is by ancient usage the ruler of the country, and the only recognized enthroned king of the south, to him alone the authority can be stable; but to us it could not be assured for a single day." *Mahomed-Khan*, however, daily more and more directly, held intercourse of this sort with that *Mayana*, with ten *jemadar's* belonging to him, and also with the *gurus;* and by force of counsel he (*Mayana-Mantimiya*) was at length brought over to the design; and they all consulted together how best to dethrone the ruler, and to assume his crown. Intelligence of these proceedings coming to the knowledge of *Velleiyen-Servai-caren* and *Tandavaraya-pillay*, they said (to *Mantimiya* and *Nabir-Khan*), "Heretofore, when we were quiet, you came, and by strong persuasion took us along with you, as well as the king, and crowning him, represented yourselves simply as *jemadars* in his service; and so we and you unitedly crowned the king, and then, confiding in you, we left the king to your care; after which, while we continued to leave you in charge of the king's welfare, can we now believe that you are capable of treachery?—but depart out of the fort." Disputing together (as they went out), both parties halted at the *terpa-kulam* (tank); where, by reason of their ordering *Mantimiya* to depart, a fierce fight ensued between both parties; a great slaughter took place, and much disturbance arose.

The king, *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, addressed both sides thus, "Why does this disturbance and loss arise between you; another day better times will befall us (the king), and then equitable rulers will come from the north: these, inquiring into the ancient rule and claims of right, will crown us; and when such persons do this, our rule will be stable; but as you cannot do this for us, we no longer consent to remain here. Fight not between yourselves on our account." Saying thus, he forthwith set out; and in *Adi* month of *Strimugam* year he came to *Velleicurchi*. His son was *Raja-Visvanatha-Naicker-Ayeravercal*, whose sons are now alive: that is to say, *Vangaru-Tirumali-Naicker-avercal*, and *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker-avercal*. These are living at *Velleicurchi*.

THE PANDION CHRONICLE, SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPT, AND CARNATACA DYNASTY, CONNECTED.

In the first volume we brought our inquiries downwards, by as cautious a deduction as circumstances would permit, to the eras of *Vicramaditya* and *Salivahana*. The fixing of the contemporary and preceding rulers of the *Pandiya-mandalam*, was decided chiefly from indications afforded by the Manuscripts themselves; but without possessing a full conviction that, in every case, the indication could be depended upon: still an approximation, more or less near, to precision has been effected. The very obscure portion of all native history which relates to the seven dynasties of foreigners, from the *Abhiras* down to the *Maulas* or *Mavunals*, is hardly capable now of satisfactory elucidation; but the period we came to was that of *Soma-Suntira-Pandion;* who is said to have driven these strangers away and to have ruled twenty years. This circumstance, if we admit it to be historical, must have occurred at a period considerably posterior to the commencement either of the Christian era, or that of *Salivahana;* but how long subsequent, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to say. Should the parallels and coincidences marked be nearly accurate, then there must be a very considerable chasm about the period indicated for the ascendency of these foreigners; and we might fix *Somasuntira* some where in the seventh or eighth century; and some vestiges of the *Kadamba* family ruling over a part of the Malayalim country, wherein also these foreigners are said to have acquired an ascendency, would induce us to suppose that some such period is not far from the truth: the matter will however come under further notice with a reference to the *Kadamba* dynasty.

But before we come to so comparatively recent a period, there is a considerable field open to research in other portions of the Peninsula; even from some time subsequent to the decay of the *Magadha* kingdom down to the tenth or fourteenth

century. Our professed object would not demand any discursive inquiries beyond the immediate range of the *Pandion* kingdom, with some notices of its immediate neighbours; but a general survey of the whole field is interesting: it tends to illustrate the leading subject; may lead to future discoveries; and has been but little treated on, having by some been regarded as a total void; while yet materials do exist for fixing dynasties, sovereigns, and some events, with very tolerable accuracy; approaching often, in the matter of inscriptions, to a degree bordering on certainty.

Next to the *Magadha* empire of Behar, various indices point to *Calinga*, or that portion of *Telingana* situated on the sea coast, near the Godavery river. The Ougein or Malwa monarchy, was probably contemporary with this, and has been made considerably more the subject of heroic fiction and fable; but this has not been left without sufficient notice to tell us that such a kingdom once was, and was also, in its day, illustrious; and with slight changes of locality, it was the mother-land of various subsequent powers, till finally merged in the Mahomedan principality of Golconda.

Sir W. Jones gathered from the *Puranas*, through the help of his *Pandit*, that the city of *Cilacila*, supposed by him to be the country of the *Maharashtras* or Mahrattas, was once the seat of power: where five persons reigned, who were called *Bhumanda, Bangira, Sisunandi, Yasonandi*, and *Praviraca*, who occupied a period of one hundred and six years; after which the kingdom became the prey of barbarians. The *Pandion* Chronicle, probably from the like *Pauranic* source, says, that after the *Mavuvals* were gone, one of the *Kainguilan* race, from among the *Yemanals*, ruled in the town called *Kinguili*, whose name was *Vinthisaren;* after whom, *Puranjeyan*, and some other kings, ruled down to *Piraviren*. As this last name is, without doubt, the same with *Praviraca*, we infer that the *Kinguili* of the Manuscript is the *Cilacila*, or *Kilakila* of Sir W. Jones's account. We conclude that the *Calinga* country, a part of the Sanscrit and classical *Andhra*, or *Telingana*, is the locality intended. A. D. Campbell, Esq. in his grammar of its mellifluous language, says, " *Calinga* stretched northwards, along the coast from the Godavery towards the Ganges. The nation is mentioned by Pliny as *Calingæ proximi mari*, and *gentes gangaridum Calingarum;* and the people and language of *Telingana*

are still known to the inhabitants of the eastern islands by no other name than *Calinga*."* We have before seen (Vol. 1, p. 183.) that *Buddhist* traditions in Ceylon trace their religion to *Calinga* and *Magadha;* the former name thus doubtless denoting *Telingana.* Mr. Wilson observes,† that, according to classical writers, "the kings of *Andhra* were sovereigns of great power in the early years of Christianity; and Pliny states of the *Andhra* king, that he was master of thirty walled towns, and could bring into the field one hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and a thousand elephants."

There appears to exist some doubt, or rather perhaps some grounds of conjecture, whether *Vicramaditya* did or did not extend his dominions on this frontier, even to the subverting of the ancient *Andhra* sovereignty: and if so, whether *Salivahana*, on his conquest of *Vicramaditya*, did not extend his power also over this region. He is included, as usual in other cases, among the list of monarchs. Mr. Wilson says,‡ "It is not unlikely that *Vickrama* may have extended his authority to the south of the *Nermada;* and *Salivahana*, whose capital, *Pratishthana*, now known as *Pythan*, stood upon the *Godaveri*, is a legitimate monarch of the *Dekhin.* The countries along the *Godaveri*, or between it and the *Nermada*, may have been subject to that prince and his successors early in the Christian era; and their authority may have extended east and south, so as to have comprised the upper part of *Karnata* and the western portion of *Telingana* or *Andhra*." We rather doubt the correctness of one or two of these conjectures:§ but even according to them, do not perceive that "it is impossible to include *Bhoja* amongst the monarchs of the south;"‖ for all accounts make him a successor, more or less remote, to *Salivahana.*

Nevertheless, it seems agreed on all hands, that the period subsequent for some centuries to *Salivahana* is excessively obscure; and the history of *Andhra* is as much so, at this time, as any other. We meet with nothing of a probability approaching to certainty until "about a century and a half after *Salivahana*, or in the third century of Christianity;"¶ when "traditions particularise a *Mukunti-raja* as flourishing,"

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* Teloogoo Grammar, Intro. p. vii.

† Descriptive Catalogue of Mc.Kenzie MSS. Intro. p. cxxii. ‡ Intro. p. cxxiii. cxxiv.

§ See vol. 1, p. 252, *et seq.* ‖ Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxiii. ¶ Ibd. p. cxix.

who was of another race of *Kalinga* princes, and his country was "more to the south, in the *Gantur* (Guntoor) circar, and adjacent to the *Krishna* river, on its approach to the sea." He is said to have encouraged the settlement of Bramins in his country: his capital was *Daranikota*, west of *Condapilli*, and "his descendants are said to have reigned for eight hundred years."* Little further is known concerning them; but we feel a degree of moral certainty that *Boja-raja* was one of these kings, both because *Daranikota* signifies "the fort of *Dara*," (or town of *Saileya-Dhara*. Vol. 1, p. 225) and because his descendants, are represented to be succeeded, as usual, by the *Yavanas*. By his descendants we ought perhaps more correctly to understand generally his successors. We transfer Mr. Wilson's observations. "When *Mukunti* is not considered as the founder of a local dynasty, the "ordinary course of enumeration is, *Salivahana*, *Madhava-verma*, *Kulaketana*, *Nila-* "*kantha*, and *Mukunti;* and these princes are not held to be sovereigns of part of "*Kalinga* only, but of the whole of Telingana. They are followed by the *Chola-* "*Maharaja*, intending thereby the series of princes so termed, as the period of their "government is said to be two hundred and seventeen years; bringing the whole to the "year of *Salivahana* four hundred and thirty seven (A.D. 515). These are succeed- "ed by eight or nine *Yavana* princes. It is difficult to understand what is meant by "the term, as the name *Yavana* invariably implies foreigners, and in late times "Mahommedans. In general, the only name specified is *Yavana-Bhuja;* but in one "list† we have the following, named as his descendants: *Nanda*, who reigned sixty- "two years; *Bhadra*, seventy years; *Dumatsena*, fifty years; *Satyasena*, forty-two years; "*Sampati*, sixty-seven years; *Retnamadana*, thirty years; *Sumanta*, fifty years; *Vrihasena*, "forty-six years: or altogether, with the reign of *Yavana-Bhuja*, which is called forty- "one years, four hundred and fifty-eight years; bringing the last to the year of *Saliva-* "*hana* 875 (A.D. 953). The succeeding princes are termed the *Narapati*, *Gajapati*, "and *Aswapati*, or the sovereigns of *Warangal*, and *Orissa*, and the Mahommendans.‡

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxx.

† The *Pandion* Chronicle speaks of eight *Yevanal* kings; but without specifying names. Vol. 1, p. 31.

‡ More correctly perhaps those of *Vijanagur*, *Warangal*, and *Orissa*. See Mr. Stirling's account of Orissa, As. Res. vol. 15, art. 5: also Des. Cata. p. 289.

"It appears, therefore, that the termination of the *Yavana* series is, as far as the chro-"nology is concerned, fully two centuries too early. As to its historical accuracy, it is "impossible to offer any conjecture, as nothing but names is traceable, and those names "throw no light on the foreign origin of the individuals, as they are all genuine "Sanscrit appellations. Whether any such persons existed as these *Yavanas* is ques-"tionable; but the answer to the question must be sought in the countries between the "*Narmada* and *Krishna*. Colonel Mackenzie's inquiries are, for the most part, bounded "by the latter; except along the sea coast and the adjoining districts."* We submit, what indeed is only a conjecture, but which nevertheless is invested with some adjuncts of probability; and this is, that if the *Yavanas* are correctly supposed to denote the Greeks of Bactria, (See vol. 1, p. 259.) then it is possible that some king or conqueror from among them might have left some posterity, legitimate or otherwise, in India, native born and by a native mother, very possibly of high descent. In such case *Yavana-Bhuja* might denote either that son or his descendant: the term *Yavana* marking the foreign extraction; and *Bhuja* denoting *arm* or *strength;* while the other names in succession might be expected to be Sanscrit, both from maternal influence and Indian birth. Supposing this conjecture to be accurate, then this dynasty of a Grecian posterity must have held very extensive influence, seeing that their rule is admitted by the records both of the *Pandion* and *Kadamba* kingdoms. Traces every where appearing of their rule, it must, as a leading fact, be something more than artificial; though the details are not sufficiently numerous to allow us to consider any thing further than the mere fact, that such a dynasty once was, as historical.

With the intention of returning to the locality of this northern power in times subsequent to those now indicated, we pass over to the western and southern portion of the Peninsula. From such Manuscripts as are in our own possession, the notices of the *Sera-desam* are faint and few. It appears, however, that the deficiency is capable of being supplied from existing records; but not having the Manuscripts in possession, all that can be done is to give the following brief outline; one which the Manuscripts themselves might possibly enable us to correct or enlarge.

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxiv.

Pauranic legends carry up the notice of this country to the time of *Parasu-Rama;* and even ascribe the existence of the whole western continent to him. This asserted incarnation of *Vishnu* made great slaughter among the *Cshetriya* princes of the solar-race in the north; and then gave their countries to the Bramins; who, in return for his liberality, banished him as a murderer. *Parasu-Rama* having no country to call his own, solicited one from *Varunen,* the god of the sea, who promised him an extent of land equal to that over which he could cast his battle-axe; the inseparable emblem of this *avataram.* Standing at *Gokernam,* in the north, in about latitude 15°, he hurled his axe even to *Canya-Cumari,* (or Cape Comorin,) the intermediate space being what we call the Malabar coast; and so much, as by agreement, *Varunen* yielded to him as his domain.

A hasty decision might declare this whole legend to be altogether fiction. We suspect that the fable commemorates, at least, one great leading fact. The nearest conjecture we can form respecting the era of *Parasu-Rama* is, that he lived sometime within the thousandth year after the flood. Now, if the astronomical principles detailed in volume 1, p. 153, are correct, there must have been a great retiring of the mass of waters from the northern hemisphere during the period within five hundred to a thousand years after the flood; and, unless the level of the Malabar coast be greatly beneath that of the coast of Coromandel, from this also a similar retiring of waters must have taken place at the same time; though uncommemorated, so far as we are aware, by any legend, as very little concerning it was known anterior to *Rama-Chandra;* whose era is posterior to that of the former *Rama* by some centuries.

When *Parasu-Rama* had obtained his domain, as before mentioned, he parcelled it out into seven *Konkans,* or divisions, named respectively, *Kirata, Virata, Maratha, Konkana, Hayga, Tuluva,* and *Kerala.* Some of these names, as *Kirata* and *Virata,* are taken from those of northern and more ancient countries. These seven provinces, it seems, had a population of fishermen; from which circumstance we may gather the general inference, that the retiring of the sea was gradual, though fable has incorrectly made it miraculous and instantaneous. If it did take place on the principles indicated, it must have been gradual. *Parasu-Rama,* it may be supposed, on coming to this newly recovered tract of country, easily gained an

ascendency over its piscatory inhabitants. The better to secure it, and to retaliate on the northern Bramins who had expelled him, he made these fishermen become Bramins. Either at this time, or, as more probable, subsequently, the aforesaid seven provinces were subdivided into sixty-four districts; and the Bramins of these states formed a deliberative council of government for the whole. They reserved to themselves the property of the soil; let out the lands to inferior castes; intrusted war and defence to ten and a half divisions out of the sixty-four subdivisions; and placed the executive government in the hands of one individual, assisted by a council of four other Bramins, elected every three years.* It is not certain whether this very singular arrangement, considering its being in India, took place among the fishermen-Bramins, or at a later period. The reader may judge; for the legend says, that *Parasu-Rama*, on quitting the country, told his Bramins that, should they at any time have urgent occasion for his assistance, their wishing for his presence would be sufficient to bring him among them: a device quite common to the heroical period of Hindu history. The fishermen, unworthy of their elevation, felt doubtful of his veracity; and, in order to put it to the proof, summoned him without cause: indignant at which he reduced them to the rank of *Sudras*, in which light the Bramins of the *Konkan* are said to be still regarded. We incline to the opinion that the Bramins who formed the hierarchical government before described were not the Bramins of *Parasu-Rama;* but later ones, who migrated into the country at an after period: and for these reasons; because elective government is not purely Indian of the earliest ages, but originated among the dispersed from Babel in Chaldea and Assyria; because the Bramins of Malabar are said to have let out the lands to inferior castes; and because, after a time, the election of a president with an executive council was changed into the election of one sovereign, of the *Cshetriya* or military caste, only prescribing to him an oath, to acknowledge the authority of the Bramins, and to do nothing contrary to their interests,† or without their concurrence. This last proceeding is precisely according to the *Cushite* model of the dispersed from Babel; and it does not appear possible, according to Hindu

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. xcv. † Ibid.

opinions, that a *Cshetriya* prince could have derived a sovereignty, of limited character, from the inferior caste of *Sudras*. We suppose, therefore, a later immigration of Bramins, (possibly of Chaldean origin,) who improved, or ornamented the legend of *Parasu-Rama;* reduced his fishermen-Bramins to their original level; and contrived to get the whole power of government into their own hands: but though we suppose so much, our readers will form their own opinion.

It is said that the elected military sovereign was from another country, not distinctly specified; and therefore not easily determinable. We greatly hesitate to admit Mr. Wilson's conjecture,* that they "had been induced or compelled to accept a military viceroy from the monarch of Madura;" for we think the transaction in question is more ancient than "the early ages of Christianity," in which he places it; and we believe that an act of interference so important would not have escaped notice in some one of our Manuscripts had it actually occurred.

The seven districts into which the Malabar coast was primarily divided, appear, after some time, to have been apportioned into the four provinces of *Tuluva*, *Cuva*, *Kerala*, and *Mushica*. Of these, *Cuva* is mentioned by Ptolemy as a town, not a country; and from *Mushica*, in all probability, came the port *Musiris*, mentioned by Arrian in his Periplus.† The last two seem to have been of little consequence; for the whole country was named after the two leading divisions of *Tuluva* and *Kerala*, the former to the north, and the latter to the south; and this division arose from a separation among the before-mentioned sixty-four Bramin families; of whom thirty-two took possession of one half, and the remaining thirty-two of the other half. On what account this arrangement took place, does not appear to be recorded. It seems however to be a necessary consequence, that the military sovereignty by election must have ceased: a conjecture which is confirmed by what information can be gathered regarding the northern portion.

For a change in the name, from *Tuluva* to *Kadamba*, seems to have been preceded

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. xcvi.

† *Periplus Mar. Erythr.* p. 32. And by Pliny in his Natural History. It was the port made by Hippalus, the first pilot who stretched across the Arabian gulf from the mouth of the Red sea.

by that state of the country which our Manuscripts usually express by the phrase of being "its own king," or without any established authority. The first king of the *Kadamba* dynasty in *Tuluva*, is stated to have been the offspring of *Siva* and *Parvati*; or, as another account states, he was born from a drop of perspiration from *Siva*, which fell on a *Kadamba* flower (*Nauclea Daduga*). The country, at that time, was without a king; and the people had recourse to a custom of which frequent mention occurs in Peninsular records; this is, the letting loose an elephant carrying a garland of flowers, after the performance of certain ceremonies, in which the concurrence of Bramins is of course essential; and the person to whom the elephant presents the garland is by that act considered to be chosen as king. The above-mentioned *Kadamba* in this case received the garland; and he was called *Trinetra-Kadamba*, from having, as asserted, *Siva's* third eye in his forehead; an allegory perhaps to indicate that he was rigid, or severe, in the administration of justice. He is placed high up in the *Cali-yugam*, or between 500 to 1000 B. C.; but an inscription occurs in his name *S. S.* 90, or A. D. 168. Precise confidence can be placed in neither of these dates; for when natives date any thing in the *Cali-yugam*, we have learned to regard the time as beyond their precise knowledge; and the very date *S. S.* 90, would lead to a suspicion that the inscription was antedated at some period when the era of *Salivahana* had come into general use, and that it referred to another *Trinetra-Kadamba*, so named after the founder of the dynasty. We should conjecture, by consequence, that if the first *Trinetra-Kadamba* were a real personage, the age in which he flourished must have been at least 500 B. C.

Of two successors by some accounts, or five by others, little or nothing is said; but the third or fifth, named *Mayura-Verma*, is pre-eminently distinguished. He founded *Jayantipur*, being either *Banavasi*, or *Kundapur*, on the sea coast; but is chiefly celebrated for introducing the Bramins into the country: and here we meet with a singular contradiction; for traditions ascribe to him the division of the country, below the *Ghats*, into sixty-four districts, apportioned among the Bramin settlers. We feel obliged to explain this circumstance in a way which will avoid contradiction; and, at the same time, not be discordant to the spirit of Hindu history. We believe then the matter to be as already indicated; that an immigration of

Bramins took place at an earlier period, who deposed the preceding *Sudras;* that the hierarchical government not working well, an elective military one was established; that this ultimately led to a schism or rent in the country; that the northern portion continued some time in an anarchical state, when possibly many Bramin families quitted it for happier lands; that at length those who remained in union with the people brought about the election of *Kadamba;* and, that his descendant, *Mayura-Verma* invited another immigration of Bramins, dividing his northern half-country into sixty-four districts, in imitation of the more ancient division of the whole coast; and thus making his country a copy in miniature of the primitive whole. It must be noted that a regular succession of kings is traced after *Mayura-Verma;* and without some such supposition as the one indicated, it seems impossible to reconcile the very opposite statement of a hierarchy of Bramins choosing an elective king, with an hereditary king inviting Bramins, and locating them in appropriated districts. Besides which, it must be remarked that the hierarchy possessed the whole country, whereas *Mayura-Verma* ruled over only the northern half. It follows, that the location of Bramins made by him was certainly posterior to the hierarchy; and we must account for that location, either by supposing a deficiency caused by time, or by imagining some flowing tide of Bramins from the north setting in towards this shore, and received with cheerful welcome. For a country to be without Bramins is, by established Hindu opinion, one of the greatest afflictions that Divine Providence can allow to alight on a devoted nation. Hence, in the former case, had a dearth of these benefactors occurred, *Mayura-Verma* would have earnestly sought to make up the deficiency; or if there existed only a moderate supply, a greater one would be welcomed, on the principle that too many of a good tribe could not come; inasmuch as they would bring with them a blessing, instead of proving a burden. It adds some weight to the conjecture, if we consider the fact, which seems to be authenticated, that the proportion of Bramins in the modern province of *Canara* (the one in question) is much greater than in other parts of the Peninsula.

It appears, further, that *Mayura-Verma* placed four (we had almost said Levitical) cities, each under a Bramin governor; which were those of *Kasargudi, Barkur,*

Mangalur, and *Kadaba*. During the reign of his son the Bramins made an attempt to leave the country, but were brought back, and compelled thenceforward to leave a lock of hair on the forehead, as a distinguishing mark: the rest of the hair being shaven according to custom. The legendary account of *Mayura-Verma*, is the subject of a Sanscrit *Sarittiram*, in the *Devanagari* character. It makes the successors of *Trinetra-Kadamba* to be *Madhukeswara*, *Mallinatha*, and *Chandra-Verma;* the last of whom had two sons; and from the eldest of these, named after his father, came *Mayura*, who afterwards became king of *Banavasi*. It states that his son was called *Trinetra-Kadamba*. Mr. Wilson thinks that *Mayura-Verma* lived about one thousand years ago, or in the eighth or ninth century.* In general Mr. Wilson seems to us to err, if at all, on the safe side. We believe that *Mayura* must have flourished at an earlier period. Some reasons for which opinion will presently appear.

The son of *Mayura* is otherwise named *Cshetriya-Verma*, and *Chandragada*. This prince, by treachery and cruelty, extended his authority, and pushed forward the Bramins above the Ghauts. From this prince downwards there follows a list, of names only, of some seventy princes. The question arises, is the list real? or is it fictitious? We should say neither one nor the other. The greater probability is, that some of the names will be duplicates or repetitions of others; but that a portion of them must have had real existence, and regal authority. They are followed, as usual, by the *Abhiras*, *Mauras*, &c.; and Mr. Wilson again, somewhat too positively as we conceive, asserts, that "the list of princes given in the Puranas" (to wit, as we suppose, *Abhiras*, *Mauras*, &c.) "could have had no connexion whatever with the dynasties of the south."† We do not so plainly perceive this impossibility, in the face of uniform local testimony to the contrary; though it is just possible that the Pauranic accounts may have been copied out into the topical lists, and genealogical accounts, by way of rhetorical ornament and flourish. But then we find that these foreign princes bring us down to a *Sankara-deva* in *S.S.* 1258, or A.D. 1336: fixing those foreign dynasties some centuries earlier; as they are uniformly

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* Des. Cata. p. 97. † Des. Cata. Intro. p. cii.

placed, be they whom they may. Mr. Wilson informs us, (Cata. p. 97.) that inscriptions of the *Kadamba* family are found as late as the twelfth century of the Christian era. Is the inscription one of *Sankara-Deva?* Whether it be or no, and whether any foreigners intervened or otherwise, let us take our stand at 1200 A.D. and then carry upwards a list of as many princes, out of seventy, as discretion may warrant; and we shall be landed at a period much anterior to A. D. 1000 as the time of *Mayura-Verma.* Let us take the whole seventy, and assign twenty years to each reign, and we are carried up to 200 B. C. But if we consider that there were certain intermediate series of foreigners, and that twenty years is a low estimate as an average of each reign, we may then discard several from the list of seventy princes, and yet be carried up as high. We have fixed the first *Trinetra-Kadamba* at 500 B. C.; or say thereabouts. At least a century must have been occupied by his immediate successors, down to *Mayura-Verma.* We may be above the true point, as Mr. Wilson is, we conceive, certainly below it; but we feel too much respect for his judgment, and too great diffidence of our own, to be any way positive. We note, notwithstanding, that "in other tracts" (exclusive of the Sanscrit *Mayura-Verma-Cheritra*) "current in the Dekhin, the *Kadamba* is inserted in the midst of the common Pauranic dynasties of the *Kali* age, or anterior to the *Maunas* and *Yavanas.*" (Des. Cata. p. 97.) Mr. Wilson considers this to be "egregious blundering, or worse," because "intended to place the origin of the *Kadambas* nearly 1500 years before the Christian era." The simple fact, however, that other tracts and local traditions take this latter view of the case, deserves to be weighed in forming a definite judgment.

Having brought this line of kings down to the real, or asserted, times of foreign rule, we here, as in other cases, pause; and turn to the more southern portion, or *Kerala-desam.* This seems to be the same with the *Sera-desam ;* unless the latter should be a still smaller division at the extreme south. The limits of *Sera-desam* seem to have varied at different times; and the country has also been termed *Konga-desam.* The records of this principality do not appear to be so connected as those of others; deficient even as the best are. But a certain date seems to be afforded in the year of *Salivahana* 816, or A. D. 894, when the country is said to have been conquered by the *Soren* king. This is about the period usually assigned to foreigners; but in the

brief account* of the Manuscript entitled *Konga-desa-Rajakal*, or kings of the *Konga* country, Mr. Wilson makes no mention of any foreign rule. This MS. appears to us peculiarly valuable, from being the only one, as we conceive, bearing on this section of the south country. And, when it is considered that Mr. Wilson admits his want of acquaintance with the Tamil language, and his being obliged to follow, either imperfect English notes left by Colonel Mc.Kenzie, or the verbal accounts of natives, there will perhaps appear some reason in the wish, that this manuscript in particular could be inspected. The plan of printing manuscripts *verbatim*, with literal translations, as the foundation of general inferences from the whole at a future period, we feel convincingly persuaded is the only means of providing a safe chart to the general historian, in this long neglected, and supposed to be barren, field. The errors which we have perceived, in parts of Mr. Wilson's most valuable Descriptive Catalogue of the Mc.Kenzie MSS. at Calcutta, lower our feeling of confidence in results derivable from the whole; important as they are, in the character of an approximation: and our having seen and conversed with one of the individuals on whom Colonel Mc.Kenzie, and ultimately Mr. Wilson, must have depended for accounts of the contents of the Tamil Manuscripts, would by no means deduct from such a depreciated feeling. Until the Tamil Manuscripts relating to the *Pandiya*, *Sora*, and *Sera* kingdoms, have been examined by a European, well acquainted with Tamil, we must hold that their contents cannot be justly estimated; nor would a safe basis, for public judgment to rest upon, be provided; unless they are printed *verbatim*, with a literal version. Mr. Wilson says,† "According to this work" (*Kongadesa-Rajakal*) "the series of *Konga* or *Chera* princes amounted to twenty-six, from *Viraraya-Chakraverti* to *Raja-Malla-deva*, IN THE TIME OF WHOSE DESCENDANTS the kingdom was subdued by the *Chola-Raja*." To remove the vagueness of the words put by us in small capitals, we should be disposed to make every effort to get a sight of the MS. were it at Madras, and not at Calcutta. What descendants, or how many of them, intervened between *Raja-Malla-deva* and the *Soren* conquest? seems needful to be ascertained, before attempting the ascending series, up to *Vira-raya*. We suspect

* Des. Cata. p. 198. † Des. Cata. p. 199.

the ordinary introduction of the foreign rulers, whom the *Soren* king would be represented as chasing out of the country, assuming it thenceforward to himself. Allowing as high up as 500 A. D. for these foreigners, we might have to track our way upwards through the obscure periods of *Boja*, *Salivahana*, and *Vicramaditya*, to whom the descendants of *Raja-Malla-deva* would appear as tributaries, until we came to *Malla-deva* himself; perhaps a century B. C.; and then allowing about twenty years each to his twenty-five predecessors, if real, we should make *Vira-raya* to be about contemporary with *Trinetra-Kadamba*, of *Tuluva*. Obscurity however, almost impenetrable, rests over the period in question; and all we can hope for is, that such a beginning has been made by Colonel Mc.Kenzie and Mr. Wilson, as may ultimately lead to a sifting of the contents of all the Mc.Kenzie MSS. bearing on the subject; and yielding, by a clear induction, from all available data, something like a satisfactory and decisive basis for the conclusions of the future historian.

The list of kings from *Vira-raya* (or the champion-king) to *Malla-deva*, is the following one:—*Govinda-raya*, *Krishna-raya*, *Kali-vallabha*, *Govinda*, *Chaturbhuja*, *Kumara-deva*, *Trivikrama-deva*, *Kongani-verma*, *Madhava-verma*, *Hari-verma*, *Vishnugopa*, *Krishna-verma*, *Dindikara*, *Durvaniti*, *Puskkara*, *Trivikrama*, *Bhuvikrama*, *Kongani-Mahadhiraya*, *Govinda*, *Sivaga*, *Prithivi-Kongani-Mahadhiraya*, *Raja-Malla-deva*, *Ganda-deva*, *Satyavakya-deva*, *Gunottama-deva*, *Raja-Malla-deva;* in all, twenty-six. Some of these names convey a suspicion of modern date, from the appellatives of *Krishna* so often occurring; for whether *Krishna* were so popular at as early a period as we have conjectured for these kings, is doubtful. Let it however here be observed, that the *Soren* conquest of the *Sera-desam*, fixed in *S. S.* 816, brings us to a period, where, in the other portions of this connective essay, we have deemed it expedient to pause, in our survey.

The *Sora-desam* next demands our attention. There are manuscripts in the Mc.Kenzie collection it appears, which, as we conjecture, on an accurate investigation, would probably yield materials of very considerable interest, as to this portion of the south country. We can only attempt a distant approximation to

severe accuracy, from the rough outline of materials which Mr. Wilson has provided; taken in connexion with some others of our own.

If the statement of the *Hari-Vamsa* ought to be received as accurate, that the extreme south was peopled by descendants of the three brothers named *Chera, Chola,* and *Pandiya,* as we are rather disposed to believe, then it will follow that the statement derived by Mr. Wilson from one or two manuscripts, which do not seem to us to be unexceptionable in point of authority, is not to be received without qualification. According to Mr. Wilson, Trichinopoly must have been the first site of the *Chola* (*Sora*) kingdom, and its founder one *Tayaman-Nale,* a settler who came from Oude, or some part of upper Hindustan. Such a settler may have cleared the country around Trichinopoly; he may even have founded the village of Wariur (or *Uriyur*): but we greatly doubt whether this were the first capital of the *Sora-desam.* To us it appears tolerably evident, that the first capital was *Kanchi* (or Conjeveram), and that the foundation of this latter was nearly contemporaneous with the original foundation of *Korkhi* (or Madura). In all the earlier legendary tales, relating to the remote antiquity of Madura, the capital of the *Sora-desam* is stated to be *Kanchi;* and it is from scattered fragments of poets, patronised by kings of a later date, that we have, for our own part, met with the first mention of *Uriyur,* as the capital of the *Sora* kingdom. But we presume that circumstances afterwards pointed out the superior eligibility of *Uriyur,* as fertilized in its neighbourhood by the Cauvery river; but this could not have been until this neighbourhood, in the manifold wars which occurred, had been wrested from the *Pandion* government; for the ancient boundaries of this latter kingdom extended farther north than the Cauveri, even to the Vellar: which is also specified as the most ancient southern boundary of the *Sora-desam.* But, whatever may be the true state of the case as to comparative antiquity, Wariur (or *Uriyur*) was certainly the capital at one period of the history of the kingdom. It seems, also, that one king, named, among many others, *Kulottunga-Soren,* had an illegitimate son, who could not succeed him, to whom he assigned *Kanchi,* with a district around and beyond; part of it lying to the north, and requiring to be rescued out of the hands of a rude and anarchical people, by whom it was peopled. The name of this prince being

Adonda, or by title *Tondaman-Chakraverti;* this division of the country was afterwards known as the *Tonda-Mandalam.* But there is reason to believe that it was held as a viceroyalty, or subordinate principality, chiefly because no separate records are known to have been preserved, nor any care taken to narrate the genealogical list of *Adonda's* descendants. There is also reason to believe that these removed the seat of their government to Arcot; partly because in Ptolemy's tables we meet with the term *Arcati Regio Soræ;* and partly because the Mahomedan principality was established there: for the Mahomedans seem uniformly to have continued their capitals in the towns which had been so considered, when under the dominion of aboriginal native princes.

It is stated by Mr. Wilson,* that lists of the *Soren* princes are preserved in the temples of *Tripeti, Chandragiri,* and *Permatur,* which give twenty-three kings, while other lists at *Kondatur* and *Kanchi* give eighteen; supplying also dates, or from *S.S.* 136 to 830 (A.D. 214 to 908), an interval of 694 years. It is about this period that our Supplementary Manuscript is most definite in its statement of intercourse, marriage-relations, wars, and mutual conquests, on the part of the *Pandion* and *Soren* kingdoms. In the *Vrihadiswara Mahatmya,* a Sanscrit work, found also in Tamil and Mahratti, sixteen kings are enumerated. We may be satisfied, therefore, that at least so many reigned, and very probably more. The *Dravira* country is said to be rich in *Sassanams,* or inscriptions on stone, of grants, by *Soren* princes; but their value is reduced almost to insignificance from being dated only in the year of some king's reign, without specifying either the date of the *Cali-yugam,* or of *Salivahana.*

It is exceedingly probable that neither names, nor notices, of rulers at *Kanchi,* antecedent to *S.S.* 136, are preserved in Braminical lists; for this reason, that before that period the Bauddhists or Samunals were supreme, if not sole, in power and influence in the *Kanchi* kingdom. The *Madura-Stalla-Puranam* testifies to this fact unequivocally; and an image, unquestionably of *Buddha,* was dug up by Colonel Mc.Kenzie's people, near Conjeveram,† which, as shown by the

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. xxxvi. † As. Res. vol. 9. art. 4.

drawing of it given, is exactly on the same model with those recently brought in considerable numbers from Birmah to Madras; though it is of better proportions and simpler workmanship: while its having been buried, would appear to indicate a desire, on the part of the Bauddhist votaries, to conceal it from the eye and search of succeeding kings, or conquerors, of a different faith. Whatever may be decided as to the common origin, connected with local variations increased by time and distance, of the Bauddhas and Jainas, it is at least certain that the former, or Samunals from Ceylon, had spread as far north in the Peninsula as to Conjeveram: or else that if the votaries of this image were Jainas, who migrated originally from the north of India; they then must be, in origin at least, the same sect, with the Bauddhists of Ceylon, and the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal. But, waving this discussion, whether the original founder of *Kanchi* were of Braminical or Bauddhist persuasion, is perhaps not easily determinable. The probability is, that his emigration from the north was merely in search of subsistence; that no Bramins, or religious ministers of any kind, accompanied him; or were found among his descendants, until possibly the votaries of *Buddha* found their way to the place, and obtained an ascendancy; giving way to the Bramins at a much later period, through intercourse with other kingdoms, or foreign conquests: and, with a very great appearance of probability, through the contrivance of the Bramins in effecting the conversion of a Soren king, by introducing him at night surreptitiously into the Madura temple, as narrated in the thirty-fourth *Tiruvilliadel* * of the *Stalla Purana;* especially as thenceforward a period of amity ensued between the two kings; until the intrigue, specified in the following thirty-fifth *Tiruvilliadel,* led to renewed enmity and warfare. It may cause little surprise, considering that Bramins have been the usual guardians of all Hindu legendary history, when we find that accounts of Bauddhist kings of *Kanchi* have either never been written, or have been permitted to perish.

Hence the sixteen or more princes, whose names, with some of their actions, have been preserved, are probably to be dated from S. S. 136, all above that period

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* Vol. 1, p. 80.

being nearly a blank. The names of the sixteen kings are, *Kulottunga, Deva-Soren, Sasisegara, Sivalingam, Vira-soren, Keri-kala, Bhima-soren, Rajarajendren, Viramartanden, Kirtti-verdhana, Vijaya, Kanaka, Sundara, Kalakala, Kalyana, Bhadra.* But as these names are not enough to fill up an interval of 694 years, with any thing like a consistent average, we ought possibly, with Mr. Wilson, to give a preference to those local lists which increase the number to eighteen, or twenty-three: the last probably being most correct. It is certain, for example, that there must have been more than one *Vira-Soren;* for while *Rajendra,* who was the patron of the celebrated Tamil poet *Kamban,* is found to have reigned A. D. 886,* we have a *Vira-Soren* fifth in succession from *Rajendra,* who reigned about A. D. 918. We cannot suppose, with Mr. Wilson, that *Vira-Soren* and *Rajarajendra* were the same; for though both names are titular, we are forbidden by the analogy of custom, as abundantly exemplified in the *Pandion* lists, to consider titles, usually distinctive of individuals, as given to one person. We rather presume, that in the list of sixteen a discretionary power must have been exercised in cutting out all duplicate or triplicate names, as being supposed to be erroneous; whereas, a list without such names occurring, at least occasionally, is on that ground exposed to suspicion of defect; for it is the habitual custom of all caste-natives of the Peninsula to give their own father's name to their first son, and thus grandfather and grandson are usually named alike. This simple circumstance would afford the fullest warrant for considering the list of sixteen princes as being defective, and for extending it to twenty-three; while even that number, in a period of 694 years, gives an average of thirty years to each king, rather a large one, considering how modern is the period in question. The question perhaps cannot be adjusted without an accurate, and not intermediate, examination, by a European, of the Mc.Kenzie Tamil Manuscripts numbered by Mr. Wilson respectively 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7 † of his Descriptive Catalogue, under the head of Local History and Biography.

Accounts of the Soren kingdom narrate that it merged by marriage into the *Pandion,* during a period of 570 years. That intermarriages did take place is certain;

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* Ellis on Mirasi Right, Appendix, p. xvi. Des. Cata. p. 163 and 181.

† See List in the Appendix to this work.

but it is probable that, considering the length of the period, conquest is veiled under the softer term of marriage. Our Supplementary Manuscript admits that the *Pandiya-desam* was conquered by the Soren kings; and it also affirms the counter part, or that the latter country was, at more than one time, conquered by the *Pandion* rulers. Thus *Sora-kulantagen* (which being Englished means the destroyer of the Sora race) is said to have resisted and killed a Soren prince, and to have conquered his country: while his son *Dairiya-verma* (a name implying courage) reigned over both kingdoms; but the son of the latter relinquished the Soren kingdom to the legitimate heir, perhaps as a tributary. In the next reign, *Savuntira-pushana* is represented as marrying the daughter of the Soren king; and we cannot ascertain the precise state of the relations between the two countries until we find *Parakirama-Soren* (or the valiant Soren) conquering the *Pandion* country, being aided from the north. A period of Soren rule occurs, until *Deva-manokiren,* a *Pandion,* re-conquered his own country, and the rival one also; reigning over both. But these events, if the order of the Supplementary Manuscript is worthy of being trusted, all occurred prior to S. S. 136; and considerably before the era even of *Vicramaditya.* We find also the names of *Parakirama, Kulottunga, Panjala, Loga-retshaga;* of which names, the second only occurs in the before-mentioned list of sixteen; and relates probably to a different individual. If we glance at the *Madura Stalla Purana,* we find (vol. 1, p. 70.) mention made of a Samunal king, ruling at *Kanchi* over the Soren kingdom, personal name not stated; of *Karikala,* a Soren king; (p. 73.) of *Kadu-Vettiya-Soren,* (p. 80.) the name means "The forest-clearing Soren," who is there said to have built *Kanchi,* and to have become a convert to the *Saiva* faith; and of *Vicrama-Soren,* (p. 96.) as invading the *Pandion* country, and with the aid of the *Aswapathi, Gejwapathi,* and *Narapathi;* names which indicate that this portion at least of the *Puranam* must have been written later than 1000 A. D. let the invasion itself have occurred whensoever it might. We have also an indistinct intimation about the Soren king in the reign of *Kuna-Pandion;* (p. 111.) for *Kuna-Pandion* seems to have acquired an ascendancy over the rival kingdom. Of the above three names, that of *Karikala* only occurs in the list of the sixteen. Reverting to the Supplementary Manuscript, and to the period immediately subsequent to

the alleged ascendancy of the *Yevanal* and other foreigners, we find a succession of five *Pandion* kings, named *Soma-suntera*, *Karpura-suntara*, *Cumara-segara*, *Suntara-raja*, and *Senmuka-raja*, down to *Meru-suntera-Pandion*, who is said to have ruled over the *Sora*, *Sera*, and *Pandiya* kingdoms. His son, *Indra-Varunen*, is stated to have released the Soren king and crowned him, receiving his daughter in marriage. At a considerable distance of time, the Soren king is represented as being the second son of *Sadhuru-sangaren*, king of Madura, and younger brother of *Vira-varma-Pandion*. Again, *Maguda-vardanen* is represented as invading the Soren kingdom, and being killed in consequence. After an interval of some thirty or forty years, his grandson, *Varuna-kulottungen*, conquered the Soren king: but his son, *Athi-vira-ramen*, (the patron of literature, and himself an author,) is said to have been in the closest relation of amity with the Soren king; so that both joined their forces, and between them conquered much territory. The MS. dates the beginning of *Athi-viramen's* reign at 133 years before the Mahomedan conquest. This is said to have occurred S. S. 1246; the same date of the event being also given in the Pandion Chronicle. (Vol. 1, p. 33.) Hence *Athi-viramen* began to reign S. S. 1379 (or A. D. 1457). This is a period much later than to that to which we have as yet brought down the other portions of the present rapid survey; but now let us revert to it, by taking the names and dates in the ascending series, as afforded by the Supplementary Manuscript.

Mahomedan conquest *S. S.*	1246
Some kings (Chandra-Segara, &c.)	75
Kula-Vartanen	33
Athi-Viramen	25
Varuna-Kulottungen	30
Vajra-Singhu	25
Maguda-Vardanen	15
Vira-Vagu	35
Vira-Varma	40
Sadhuru-Sangaren	34
Sadhuru-Vicaren	25
Gunalayen	20
Kavalayananten	4

Martanda	35
Magara-Tuvasa	25
Mina-Tuvasa	
Mina-Kethana	15
Chandra-Kulatipa	20
Indra-Varunen	23
Meru-Suntera	
	488
Allow for 2 reigns	30
	518

	S. S. 1246
Deduct	518
	728
Three reigns	80
Karpura	84
Somasuntera	20
	134
	S. S. 594
	A. D. 672

Thus the driving away of the foreigners is fixed at about A. D. 700, and though a little earlier, yet not very far from the period ascribed to those foreigners from other inferences, as before shown. For their rule, with that of *Boja*, *Salivahana*, and *Vicramaditya*, including the alleged twenty-five reigns from *Deva-pushana* to *Raja-Sartulen*, as viceroys or tributaries of *Vicramaditya*, and thus up to *Raja-Kulottama*, we have a period of more than seven centuries; or from the beginning of the era of *Vicramaditya*, B.C. 56, down to S.S. 594, or A. D. 672: being the most obscure period of all native history.—Again, taking the ascending series, we have—

Vicramaditya . . . . B. C.	56	Calinga-Marrtana	45
Raja Kulottuma	80	Pararaja-Kesari	53
Deva-pushana	47	Jeyapunja	48
Raja-pushana	52		381

Jeyapunja-Pandion is said to have been the cotemporary of *Nanda;* and the coincidence in the chronology is exact, beyond our expectation; for *Chandra-gupta*, who killed *Nanda*, was cotemporary with Alexander the Great, B. C. 320, and to *Nanda* a reign of 100 years is always ascribed. Continuing the ascending series, it will be as follows:

Jeyapunja-Pandion B. C.	381	Ananta-irutheya (Pandion)	27	Parakirama-pushana . .	60
Devigamanokiren . .	60	Ananta-pushana . . .	60	Parakirama-Sartula . .	70
Loga-retshaga-Soren .	30	Savuntiriyan	70	Sama-Sartula	45
Panjala-Soren . . .	35	Savuntira-pushana-Pandion	55	Vicrama-Kesari . . .	30
Kulottunga-Soren . .	40	Anyanakadori	48	Virakesari (contemporary with Jenamejeya) .	55
Parakirama-Soren . .	30	Dairiya-varma	33	Jeyasingha	32
Soren conquest of Madura . . . B. C.	576	Sorakulantaga	66	B. C.	1227

By this process we come at the beginning of the era reckoned from the *Cali-yugam.* The same period is arrived at by comparing the Pandion Chronicle (at vol. 1, p. 33) with the Supplementary Manuscript (at p. 199), but with very different result. In the latter, the death of *Vicramaditya*, an event which occurred possibly about A. D. 78, is placed in the year 3179 of the *Cali-yugam;* fixing the commencement about 3100 (as stated in a note, vol. 1, p. 239). The Mahomedan conquest,

fixed at S. S. 1246, and C. Y. 4425, gives also 3179 before *Salivahana*, or the death of *Vicramaditya*, for the beginning of the *Cali-yugam*, or, as before, 3100 B. C. To reconcile the period as dated in the Supplementary Manuscript, with that given in the Pandion Chronicle, (and more accordant with common Hindu opinion,) would be of some consequence ; could it be effected so as to prevent any just cause of rejecting the statement of the former, which is most consistent with common sense, and general probability. The years in the Supplementary Manuscript have all the appearance of being solar years. Adopt the supposition (not before made, that we are aware of,) that the years of the *Cali-yugam* are solstitial; the passage of the sun from solstice to solstice, or one half of a solar year, being accounted as one year: then from the beginning of the *Cali-yugam* down to the Mahomedan conquest of Madura will be 2212 solar years; and from the beginning of the *Cali-yugam*, fixed at B. C. 1227, down to the Mahomedan conquest, A. D. 1324, will give 2551 solar years; leaving some 339 years to spare, in order to provide for the different length in former ages of the solstitial periods, and of solar years;* and also for corrections or amendments in the number of years allowed for each king's reign in the Supplementary Manuscript. Add the consideration, that an astronomical observation, made by *Parasera*, both of the places of the colures, and heliacal rising of Canopus, is said to fix him 1391 B. C. Between *Parasera* and *Jeyasingha* of the Supplementary Manuscript six generations, or about 200 years, intervened : take this sum from the former, and 1191 B. C. remains as the beginning of the *Cali-yugam*. On these grounds we conjecture, and are almost persuaded to conclude, that the years of the *Cali-yugam* were solstitial, and that the beginning of a period which has so much perplexed inquirers, is to be fixed between 1200 and 1000 B. C. and probably most near to the former date.

It further results, from the survey now taken, that the list of 16, 18, or 23 kings, as derivable from Mc.Kenzie MSS. at Calcutta, cannot be considered as the earliest kings of *Kanchi* ; but that after the earliest came the period of 570 years, during which the *Soren* kingdom was merged in the *Pandion*, by reason of marriage or con-

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* In more ancient times erroneously reckoned at 360 days.

quest; and then the dynasty of the aforesaid list, down to S. S. 830 (or A. D. 908); while it is evident that there were *Soren* kings who reigned down to a later period, so as to extend to the time of *Athi-vira-ramen*, in S. S. 1379 (or A.D. 1457); and even later still, as will appear in due course of our inquiries.

It may be needful possibly to anticipate an objection as to the authenticity of the Supplementary Manuscript, and its being capable, not merely from the contents, but their value, to bear us out in the conclusions, of some consequence, which have been in part derived from it. On this point it is obvious to remark, that it contains nothing legendary, or mythological, and is an extremely plain and unvarnished chronicle; that the incidents recorded, all appear natural, and the years of each king's reign subsequent to *Vicramaditya* and *Salivahana* are moderate, and in accordance with the nature of human life at the period indicated; that the alone exception, relative to *Vicramaditya* and *Salivahana*, receives an easy solution, on the principle of the currently believed tales about them, an examination of which, as given towards the close of our first volume, shews that there is a dark period subsequent to them, and that *Vicramaditya* ruled in reality about a hundred years; while the remarkably exact coincidence with fact, drawn from other sources, of *Jeyapunja* being the cotemporary king with *Nanda* of *Magadha*, gives a very strong and almost irrefragable proof of correctness and integrity, and corroborates the otherwise somewhat doubtfully long reigns between *Jeyapunja* and *Vicramaditya*, giving also an appearance of probability to the periods assigned to other reigns, from *Jeyapunja* up to *Jeya-singha-Pandion*. Invested with such features of simplicity and integrity, we believe the statements of the Supplementary Manuscript to be substantially authentic; and sufficient to bear out the conclusions thence derived, in connection with other sources of information.

This may possibly be the best place to advert to Mr. Wilson's notice of the *Pandion* kingdom, in itself valuable, as far as it goes; but brief and defective. In describing the founder of the kingdom as "Pandiya, a native of Oude,"* we believe there is an error, into which we suppose Mr. Wilson to have been led by the

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. lxxiv.

manuscript entitled in his Catalogue "*Cholamandala, Tonda-mandala, Pandya-mandala-rajakal;*" and numbered 4,* under the head of "Local History," &c. which, so far as we have been able to discover, is his only authority : which authority moreover is met and contradicted by the *Hari-Vamsa ;* by the manuscript quoted at p. 120 of vol. 1 ; and by the larger MS. detailing the lunar pedigree, at vol. 1, p. 219. The first *Pandion*, by these three, being considered as the offspring of *Duruvasu*, could not be of the solar line of *Ayodhya*, or Oude, nor be found among the subjects of that kingdom. Besides, the settler from Oude is stated to have followed in the train of *Rama-Chandra;* while, if we trust the *Stalla-Purana*, (vol. 1, p. 57, compared with p. 77,) the visit of *Rama-Chandra* to Madura was posterior to its foundation, and the *Pandion* being the offspring of *Duruvasu*, (unless indeed it were at a very distant remove, and beyond credibility,) the same inference arises, which is, that he lived prior to *Rama-Chandra* and the war of *Lanka*. Mr. Wilson mentions lists of 70, and of 357 princes, which last he considers most probable "if the origin be so remote ;" adding, that "with *Kuna-Pandion* all the lists close." In the catalogue we observe the Sanscrit *Halasya-Mahatmya*, (No. 121, p. 91,) the *Perawoliyar-Purana*, in Tamil, (No. 27, p. 173,) the MS. No. 4, just adverted to, the *Pandya-rajakal*, (No. 7, p. 196,) as relating to this subject ; and the last (in the notice of which only any names of kings are specified) is remarkably defective, when compared with other lists. By consequence, the *Stalla-Purana*, which only comes down to the time of *Kuna-Pandion*, must be the standard authority. The later kings given in our Supplementary Manuscript are decidedly not included. In the MS. No. 4, (Cata. p. 195,) is an account of the *Marawa* province, and a statement that the *Setupatis*, or rulers at Ramiseram, had conquered their masters at Madura, reducing these to the state of feudatories for three reigns ; the same having occurred antecedent to the *Vijia-nagaram* ascendency. Subsequently we have accounts in the *Carnataca Dynasty* of the *Sethupathis*, of considerable distinctness. Antecedently, the only intimation on the subject that we can derive is from the *Stalla-Purana*, (vol. 1, p. 77,) in the thirtieth *Tiruvilliadel ;* where the *Sethu-rayen* is no doubt the chief of the

* Des. Cata. p. 188.

district named after the *Sethu*, or isthmus of Ramiseram : (for such it once was, though now an island by the gradual rise of the sea). No doubt the legend commemorates some invasion, real or threatened : but to discover the time in question, is no easy thing. It is of more consequence to inquire into the era of *Kuna-Pandion*. Mr. Wilson says the Tamil version of the *Stalla-Purana* was written in the middle of the eleventh century ; and that the original was therefore probably composed in the tenth, or early in the eleventh, century ;* fixing the date of *Kuna-Pandion*, the last prince whom it enumerates, to some antecedent term. The precise authority for this statement we could wish to see ; but have no means of our own of fixing the period of composition either of the original or version of the *Purana*. The mention of *Aswapathi*, *Gejwapathi*, and *Narapathi*, in the fiftieth *Tiruvilliadel* (vol. 1, p. 96.) strengthens the supposition of so late a composition, unless the terms may have been familiar to earlier ages, and adopted in a later one by the kings of *Warankal*, *Orissa*, and *Vijianagaram*. We further find Mr. Wilson repeatedly fixing the time of *Kuna-Pandion* about the time assigned for the composition of the *Purana*. Thus, (Intro. p. lvi.) "There is reason to place *Kuna-Pandya* in the ninth or tenth century of Christianity." (Ib. p. lxvii.) "In the Pandyan kingdom the *Jains* rose upon the downfall of the *Bauddhas*, and were suppressed in the reign of *Kuna-Pandya* which could not have occurred much earlier than the ninth or tenth century, or might have been as late as the eleventh." (Ib. p. lxxix.) "The twelfth prince from *Arimerddana* is *Kuna-Pandya*. He is placed by some accounts in the *Saka* year 950, or A.D. 1028; and this agrees tolerably well with the date deduced for him from that of the translation of the *Halasya-Mahatmya*." We rest not on trifling discrepancies in these passages, they being of little importance; but could earnestly wish to see the exact specification of authorities literally and rigidly translated. For the conclusions we should come at from our own authorities would, at all events, place *Kuna-Pandion* at an earlier period. In the Supplementary Manuscript, which we regard as trustworthy, no place is assigned, or assignable, to *Kuna-Pandion* from the Mahomedan conquest, A. D. 1324, up to A. D. 672, in which interval, according to the statements

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. lxxv.

of Mr. Wilson, he ought to be found. Above that period is the dark interim expressly assigned to foreigners; when transactions, such as those of *Kuna-Pandion's* reign, do not come within the range of probability. From *Vicramaditya* up to *Jeyasingha*, *Pepiravahana*, or *Sittera-bagu*, we find no *Kuna-Pandion* mentioned. Reverting to the *Pandion Chronicle*, we find (at p. 25. vol. 1.) a hiatus indicated, which in our notes we were led to consider as supplied by the Supplementary Manuscript; and such seems, to us, to be an unforced inference. We there find that *Kuna-Pandion* is placed higher up than this hiatus. It is implied, in our construction of circumstances, that some princes succeeded *Kuna-Pandion*, and among these we look for *Sittera-vira-bagu*, the father-in-law of *Arjunen*, and grandfather of *Pepiravahana;* from whom the Supplementary Manuscript carries down the genealogy with evident credibility. But if *Jeyasingha-Pandion* lived as early as B. C. 1227, then, allowing somewhat for the previous interval of disorder, we must suppose *Kuna-Pandion* to be placed about 1320 B. C.: and there accordingly we had located him, as nearly cotemporary with *Tirudaracshasa* and *Pandu* of *Hastinapuri*, before we were aware of Mr. Wilson's very different location of, we suppose, the same individual. Should Mr. Wilson's decision be the just one, then a very material alteration must be made in the whole structure of the different series, as they developed themselves to our inquiries; but then also the evidence of the Supplementary Manuscript must be peremptorily, and perhaps unduly, rejected; or else, to save such a consequence, *Kuna-Pandion* must be supposed therein to be spoken of under some other name.

The point which, with us, weighs against a high antiquity as assignable to *Kuna-Pandion*, arises from his extermination of the *Samunals* or *Bauddhists*. Were the era of *Buddha's* appearance correctly stated at 2101 B. C. there would be no difficulty; but if the Ceylon era (See vol. 1, p. 246.) be correct in fixing *Buddha's* death at 542 B. C. then certainly some time, even some centuries, would appear to be requisite, in order to allow his religion to proceed by way of Calinga, Siam, and Ceylon, to Madura. With regard to the minor statement, by Mr. Wilson, that "the *Jains* rose upon the downfall of the *Bauddhas*, and were suppressed in the reign of *Kuna-Pandya*," as he has not specified any authority, so we cannot appreciate it; but in the *Stalla-Puráña* there is mention only made of *Samunals* and *Puttar;* both of

which terms we have understood to be synonymous, and to denote the followers of *Buddha;* and we discover no period of the ascendency of either at Madura, except in the reign of *Kuna-Pandion.* We add, that the *Pandion Chronicle,* which harmonizes with the *Stalla-Purana,* gives eighty-five kings from *Kulasegara* down to *Kuna-Pandion;* and the grandchild bearing the grandfather's name frequently occurs: the same being also observable, once or twice, in the Supplementary Manuscript. The reader must now be pleased to judge for himself, whether the origin of the Madura kingdom ought to be fixed in the third or fourth century before Christianity, as Mr. Wilson infers,* or at a much higher period, as we have conjectured; guided by data which could only be negatived by submitting the evidence of manuscripts implicitly to the test of our own discretion; and this mode of proceeding, to say the least, would more gracefully befit our readers than ourselves.

In the remainder of Mr. Wilson's brief notice of the Pandion kingdom, there is a valuable outline of details, with which those who have perused the first volume of this work must be familiar; and of which no repetition is needed.

As yet we have done no more than advert to a few of the incidents in the Supplementary Manuscript. They are however the leading ones. The commercial character of *Kavalay-ananten;* and his perishing at sea after a reign of only four years, is an incident of quite unusual occurrence. In the time of *Sadhura-vicaren,* we find the sanguinary worship of the goddess *Cali* had extended to the extreme south. *Vira-varma* is said to have conquered the Malayalim country; and if a viceroy were sent from Madura, it would seem to have been then; but this is at a late period, that is, S. S. 1018 (A.D. 1096). A little lower down, *Athi-viramen,* or *Athi-vira-ramen,* is to be distinguished as an author. He is popularly said to have translated into Tamil the Sanscrit *Nishadha,* founded on the interesting episode in the *Mahabharata* of *Nala,* and *Damiyanti;* though some other statements would induce the supposition, that he merely lent his name, and patronised the poet who was the real translator. It is in poetical Tamil, of the most abstruse composition: such things appearing to have been valued, as music now is, just in proportion to the difficulty of execution; and, by

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. lxxv.

consequence, in false taste. The story however, in its native elements, as found in the *Mahabharata*, is of more simple and natural character, in which there is real pathos; and there would be more, were not the instrumental cause of *Nalen's* reverses, founded on reckless gaming. The narrative however is remarkable on account of a native superstition still extensively and practically connected with it. *Sani-bagavan*, or the guardian genius of the planet Saturn, was *Nalen's* secret but real enemy, throughout his sufferings; and at last, in their extreme point, he concedes a gift at *Nalen's* request, which is, that whosoever reads or hears the narrative of his sufferings, should be delivered from all his enemies. The natives do not regard this concession merely as the ingenious device of a poet to secure readers, but in the letter of the promise; and actually read it, or have it read to them, when in circumstances of difficulty, in order to be extricated out of them; and especially from such as may be attributable to *Sani-bagavan;* of whose malevolencet he utmost dread is entertained. This is a superstition of which the writer has received various details, and the most confirming assurance.

Besides nominally or really composing the Tamil *Nigazham*, king *Athi-vira-ramen* also wrote a small collection of sententious maxims in the poetical dialect. The writer has made a translation of them; but as the insertion of it would not be suitable here, it will be reserved for a more befitting situation.

Of *Athi-viramen's* son, named *Kula-vartanen*, nothing is recorded but the years of his reign; and the kings who occupied the interval of seventy-five years, including *Paracrama-Pandion*, are not mentioned; nor could they be many. In the time of this last, the Mahomedan invasion and conquest occurred; when he was led away captive to Delhi, S. S. 1246 (A. D. 1324). As we have now brought down our account of the Madura kingdom to a later time than others; and as this event is one of magnitude, we may fix it as another period; and proceed to bring down our general survey to about the same era; as correctly and fully as we may be able to accomplish.

Thus far we have adverted chiefly to the three principal cotemporary kingdoms of the south, or the *Sora*, *Sera*, and *Pandion* kingdoms; which are generally found to be considered as connected with each other, in a more especial manner than with any

other kingdoms. In the transition of our subject from the empires of *Magadha* and Ougein, occasion also occurred of noticing the *Calinga* country, or that of *Telingana*. At some period nearly contemporaneous with the *Andhra* lords, there was a family named *Chalukyas*, whose capital was *Kalyan;* but the records concerning these are neither full nor very intelligible; and their rule, though once powerful, seems ultimately to have yielded to the ascendancy of a powerful kingdom in another part of *Telingana*, that of the *Kakateya* or *Ganapathi* princes of *Warankal;* who, at first feudatories or tributaries, at length shook off the yoke, and in the end became the masters. These must have been cotemporary with the *Mukunti* rajahs of Guntoor, before adverted to, who were on the south, and with the *Gejwapathi* princes of Cuttack, or Orissa, on the north. The very full account of this principality by Mr. Stirling, in the fifteenth volume of the Asiatic Researches, will sanction our dispensing with any particular notice of it, except to remark that, like other Hindu and idolatrous kingdoms, it at length fell before the all-devastating Mahomedan scourge: an event that took place in A.D. 1558,* when the Mahomedan general of Bengal invaded the country, and overthrew the independent sovereignty. The since become infamous temple of *Jaganath*, was at that time only in comparatively modern, and medium, repute; but the Mahomedans first shut it up, and persecuted its votaries; and then, by a superior refinement of policy, bethought of turning it to profit, by levying a heavy tax on pilgrim's going to visit it: a policy imitated in that locality, and elsewhere, by more civilized and better taught conquerors; on the part of whom the practice, with increased aggravations, is continued to the present day: in despite of thus far ostensible and nominal orders from the highest authority to wipe away a stain so odious from the annals of a nobler and more generous people; who, as we judge, ought never to have made Mahomedan prescriptive custom their guide.

In the central kingdom, between the *Gejwapathis* of Orissa, and the *Mukunti* rajahs of Guntoor, which, in common with the others, most probably arose on the dilapidated ruins of the ancient *Calinga*, the *Ganapathis* of *Warankal*, were at one time powerful and illustrious. The *Kakateya* family is traced from an ancient source of the line

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxxix.

of *Hastinapuri*; from *Janamejeya*, through *Satanika* and *Cshemaca*, to the sons of the two latter, named *Vijayarka* and *Someedra*. Their sons, named respectively *Vishnu-Verddhana* and *Uttunga-Bhuja*, disagreeing, the last named left the neighbourhood of *Hastinapuri*, and settled to the south of Godavery river.* It was however the settlement of a pastoral chieftain; and a foray of cattle by the Cuttack prince, led to the latter's following up his assaults in driving the descendants of the royal shepherd from the country. At *Anumaconda* a mixture of mythology and fact tended to the establishment of this line of princes, in the person of *Madhava-verma*. From him seven descents are reckoned down to *Kakati-Pralaya*.† He is fabled to have discovered a *Parispatra*, or philosopher's stone, which not being moveable, he moved his capital from *Anumaconda* to *Warankal*. The philosopher's stone, in all probability, was the discovery of the diamond mines of Golconda. Be this as it may, this prince was both wealthy and warlike: he defeated several surrounding petty powers, not excepting the *Soren* king, and freed himself, from vassalage to the *Chalukyas* of *Kalyan*. This prince was stabbed by his own son, owing to a mistake brought about by attempting to evade an alleged prediction of astrologers; and the father, blaming only himself, nominated the son as his successor. This son, named *Rudra-deva*, built, it is said, a thousand temples to *Siva*, with a view to expiate his crime. He raised tribute from some princes of Cuttack. His brother, *Maha-deva*, revolted, defeated, and slew *Rudra-deva*, taking the direction of affairs, and associating *Ganapati-deva*, son of *Rudra*, as partner and heir to the throne: a mode of proceeding which the reader of the Carnataca Dynasty of Madura will have perceived to have been common there, and fatal to the kingdom in the results.

Ganapati-deva became illustrious; and as his predecessors had been termed *Kakateyas*, from *Pralaya*, so henceforward his descendants are called *Ganapathis*, from

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxvi.

† Ib. p. cxxviii. The names are, according to the *Pratapa Cheritra*, as follow:—

Madhava-verma ..	160 years.	*Yeruka*	73 years.	*Bhuvanika-malla* ..	78 years.
Padma-sena	74 ,,	*Kuranki*	76 ,,	*Tribhuvanika-malla*	76 ,,
Vennama	73 ,,	*Pendi Konda* ..	25 ,,	*Kakati-pralaya* ..	75 ,,

Des. Cata. p. 302.

himself. *Maha-deva* lost his life in fighting with the rajah of *Devagiri*, and *Ganapati* avenged the quarrel; overcame that rajah, named *Rama*, and took his daughter to wife. He conquered the *Velnad* country, and a rajah of Nellore; a petty state existing there at this time. He was a votary of *Siva*, and a persecutor of the *Jainas.* He enclosed his own capital with an entire stone wall, whence it was called *Yega-sila-nagara;* and he built other towns. He patronised literature; and established the secular Bramins as village accountants throughout his principality, to the displeasure of the sacerdotal portion of that order. He left no son; and *Rudrama-devi*, his queen, assumed the government for twenty-eight years, until *Pratapa-Rudra*, (grandson of the queen, by her daughter's marriage with *Chalukya-Tilaka*,) had arrived to years of maturity, when the said *Pratapa-Rudra* ascended the throne. This event must have occurred about A. D. 1300.

Tradition assigns to this prince extensive authority and power. In the usual style of Hindu exaggeration he is said to have carried his armies as far north as to *Prayaga*, or Allahabad; and to have reigned in the south from the Godavery to Ramiseram: to which assertion, if worth much attention, serious objections might be opposed. It is perhaps probable that his kingdom, involving various tributaries, may have extended from Orissa to the Palar river, westward to the Ghauts, and north-west as far as *Devagiri;* otherwise called *Deo-gerh*, and by the Mahomedans Dowletabad. But this great prosperity seems to have paved the way to his ruin, by exciting the cupidity and jealousy of the Mahomedans; now becoming rapidly an all-absorbing and destroying vortex for the native powers of India. And, as usual, these rapacious foreigners were invited by one native prince to destroy another; while both were ultimately to prove victims. The *Gejwapathi* rajah of Orissa, rendered apprehensive by the ambition and increased power of *Pratapa-Rudra*, made application to Delhi for assistance,* and an army being sent, *Waran-kal* was besieged, but the assailants were repelled; other assaults shared the same fate, and successive armies were defeated. But it seems that *Madhava-verma*, before mentioned, had obtained from the goddess *Padmakshi* a boon, resembling the

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxxii.

one obtained by *Vicramaditya* from the goddess *Kali;* that is to say, that the said *Madhava-verma*, and his posterity, should enjoy an uninterrupted series of prosperity during one thousand years. This fortunate period having expired, *Warankal* fell before the attacks of its assailants; and *Pratapa-Rudra* was taken prisoner, and carried to Delhi; where he would at least have *Parakirama-Pandion*, the captive king of Madura, to keep him company. The Mahomedan historians, who confirm the native traditions on these points, fix this leading event at A. D. 1323, being one year earlier than the Mahomedan conquest of Madura. *Pratapa-Rudra* was released after a time by the Delhi Sultan; and returning to *Warankal*, died there. His son, *Virabhadra*, succeeded; and, for what cause does not appear, *Warankal* was again taken in his reign; and, as some accounts say, destroyed, but others, and the Mahomedan narratives among them, do not agree in this point, since they speak of a subsequent succession of comparatively powerless princes, which a few authorities describe as tributaries to the *Gejwapathis* of Orissa; perhaps by reason of the conquest of *Pratapa-Rudra*. Be these later and minor particulars as they may, the Mahomedans finally took possession of *Warankal;*† and under their rule it became known to European merchants as the kingdom of *Golconda*.

Mention has a little before been made of *Deogerh*, or Dowletabad. Its foundation is ascribed to a shepherd, named *Ramji*, who discovered a treasure in the mountain, which he thus expended. The transaction is fixed in the year of the *Cali-yugam* 2500: "about five centuries before the Christian era," says Mr. Wilson; but, if our view of the construction of the *Cali-yugam* era, stated a little before, (at p. 72,) be correct, that mode of calculation would make the period to be at about 100 to 150 B. C. It may be here noted, that *Ellora*, or *Ellore*, another name of this place, is properly *Il'ur*, or the town of *Ila*, the son of *Vaivasvata* transformed into a woman, and married to *Buthen*, the son of *Chandren;* of whom mention has been made in the first volume (at p. p. 231, 235). The sculptures at this place have attracted considerable attention; and, in a few ill-regulated minds, have led to immense absurdities of hypothesis and declamation. Mr. Wilson says they are ascribed to

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxxiii.

*Ila;** but in a preceding page, (lxix.) following Mr. Erskine, he speaks of them as modern; perhaps about the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, and as being the work, in part, of *Jainas.* We allude to the subject in passing, chiefly to note the great similarity of workmanship with the sculptures at *Mavaliveram,* (or the Seven Pagodas,) near Madras, which name has been somewhat pedantically translated and paraphrased into *Mahabali-puram;* first we believe by Mr. Goldingham, in the Asiatic Researches. We are not entirely convinced of the accuracy of the paraphrase; but will not insist on the subject here, further than to remark, that tradition ascribes these sculptures to a tribe of *Kal-tachar* (or stone masons) from the north; that *Jaina* workmanship is conspicuous; and, that the whole cannot be of very remote date. We presume the work to have been done by artists from Ellore, engaged for that purpose by the king of *Mavaliveram;* who may possibly be the king of *Mavalivanam,* of whom a brief mention occurs at p. 25, and who may claim some further notice.

Reverting to Ellore, or Deogerh, its founder, *Ramaji,* is said to have had *Hemanda-Panth* for his minister, who invented the Mahratta character. This kind of letters is doubtless more modern than the *Hala-Kanada,* used we believe at Ellore, and certainly at *Mavaliveram.* After *Ramaji,* come the names of *Yuvanaswa, Dandaka, Indradyumna, Darudhya,* and *Rama-raja;* which, if names of real kings, may be considered as those of persons named after an earlier line, in a different locality. *Rama-raja,* contemporary with *Pratapa-Rudra,* and able for a time to resist his arms, appears to have been the most illustrious of the series. After him the accounts are obscure and confused; and it suffices to know that this chieftainship, like many others, was at length swallowed up by the Mahomedans; who gave it in their language the name of Dowletabad, or "The abode of plenty."

A casual mention was heretofore made of Nellore, as the seat of an independent principality. It appears to have arisen out of a fragment of the more ancient *Soren* kingdom; and to have had its independent chiefs, until the powerful ascendency assumed by the *Ganapathi* rajahs of *Warankal.* A contested succession occurring,

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cvi.

Ganapati-deva was called in, who restored a Nellore rajah that had been expelled by his competitor, named *Bayana;* but some accounts make the newly installed rajah, named *Amboja-deva,* to have been a fugitive from the western country, imposed on the people of Nellore as sovereign by *Ganapati-deva;* the contradiction however, from the state of parties, seems easily solvable. On the death of *Amboja,* without issue, *Manakesava* was made viceroy by the king of *Warankal.* His son was *Manava-Siddhi,* who patronised the Telugu poet *Tikkana Somayaji,* continuator of the Telugu poetical version of the *Mahabharata,* from the third to the twelfth *parvam* (or book) inclusive; the first and second, perhaps also the third, having been translated by *Nanniah Bhatt,* a poet, and grammatical commentator.* Contiguous to the Nellore Circar, was the territory of the rajah of *Velnad,* or *Palnad,* whom *Ganapati-deva,* of *Warankal,* subdued: but this principality subsisted after the downfall of *Warankal;* and *Katama,* its chief, being at war with *Manava-Siddhi,* of Nellore, both rajahs lost their lives in the contest; and the dominions of both were then subdued and appropriated by the *Reddis* of *Kondavir.*†

The *Kondavir* principality arose out of the ruins of the *Warankal* kingdom, as did other obscure *Pallia-carer* also; but this one seems to have been most conspicuous. The first of the family was a farmer, who discovered the philosopher's stone, (or some vein possibly of diamonds); who from *Anumaconda* removed to *Kondavir;* which fort, with those of *Venuconda* and *Ballamconda,* he built and left to his descendants.‡ Seven chiefs of note are numbered among his posterity, of whom *Anavama-Reddi* is most distinguished. An inscription at *Amareswara,* on the *Krishna* river, mentions some of his acts, and fixes him in S.S. 1283, or A.D. 1361. *Capilesvara,* rajah of Orissa, who ruled from A. D. 1451 to 1478, invaded *Kondavir,* and took *Condapillay;* beginning the work of subversion, which was completed in the time of *Virabhadra Vama-Reddi* by *Krishna-rayer,* of *Vijianagur,* in the beginning of the sixteenth century. *Kondavir* continued to be a part of this state, until it also was subdued by the Mahomedans. The rajahs of *Kondavir* seem to have patronised Telugu literature, during the term of their independent sway.

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* Campbell's Teloogoo Grammar, Intro. p. viii. † Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxxvii.

‡ Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxxv.

Among other mutabilities of earthly things, the *Reddi* caste people are now known at Madras chiefly in the humblest occupations.

Further to the south there was a somewhat early race of princes known by the name of *Yadavas*, which would imply their having been of the line of *Krishna*, or simply shepherds. *Narayan-varam*, (or the gift of *Vishnu*,) was the name of their capital, but *Chandragiri* was their strong hold; and *Tripeti*, the most famous temple. Wherever there is a temple of distinguished note, we may be always sure that a dynasty of kings once existed in the immediate neighbourhood; and thus this last-mentioned temple, which is still a great resort for pilgrims, appears to have owed its origin to the rulers in question. The dynasty is said to have consisted of eighteen princes, of whom *Toya-Yadava* seems to have been the most distinguished. Chiefly, as it would appear, from his having protected *Ramanuja*, an apostle of the *Vaishnava* sect, who being driven out of the *Soren* kingdom, took refuge above the Ghauts, and at *Chandragiri*. By his instrumentality, and the aid of the *Yadava* king, *Tripeti*, which had been a *Saiva-stallam*, became a temple of *Vishnu*, and the *Saivas* were compelled to depart, not, as is probable, without persecution and bloodshed. The duration of the *Yadava* princes is stated to have been from S.S. 730 to 1012, or from A.D. 808 to 1080.* In what manner they arose, or by whom finally overcome, does not appear.

Still further south, and above the Ghauts, the *Haysalas*, or *Belalas*, were once very powerful. The founder is said to have been of the family of *Yadu*, or of the line of *Krishna*. His celebrity arose, in the first instance, from having killed a tiger, receiving as a reward a certain per centage on grain, from the villagers; aided by which tax, he made himself increasingly formidable by means of his followers, and of imposts continually increased. The name *Belala* is derived from *Balam*, strength; but it seems open to question, whether this race of kings were not of that agricultural caste of *Sudras* known by the name of *Velaler*. The number of these kings is said to have been nine by some accounts, or seventeen by one genealogical list. Inscriptions extend from S.S. 991 to 1235, or A. D. 1069 to 1313; being 244 years. The commencement of their power is uncertain; but at about the latter

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxiv.

period they were certainly conquered by the Mahomedans: whether finally destroyed is not so certain.

The first capital of this state was *Talcad*. To *Haysala*, the founder, succeeded *Vinayaditya*, whose son was named *Yerayenga*, or *Vitala-deva*; and thus far the *Jain* religion had prevailed. *Vishnuverddhana*, the fourth prince, introduced the *Vaishnava* religion; and patronised *Ramanuja*, who had been driven from the *Soren* country. The particular incident tending to bring about the change, may be seen in Colonel Mackenzie's papers on the *Jainas*, in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches. *Vishnuverddhana* is said to have captured *Banavasi*, a large town and emporium on the Malabar coast; which, in some of our manuscripts, we find termed *Tiruvanasi*, and sometimes represented as the capital of the *Sera* kingdom. The capital of the *Belalas* was subsequently removed to *Dwarasamudra*, according to some traditions, by *Vijaya-Narasinha*. Under this prince, and his predecessor, *Vira-Belala*, the principality acquired its greatest power. A subsequent prince, termed *Saiva-Belala*, seems to have patronised the faith of *Siva*. The decline of power began in his reign; and during it grants appear to have been made in the name of *Danaicker*, his military prime minister. From this circumstance we may gather a little elucidation of a dark period in the account of Madura, to which we shall have immediately to advert. *Dwarasamudra* was captured by a Mahomedan army A. D. 1310—11; and it is doubtful if this kingdom ever recovered entire independency, till the time when a new race of princes, at a much later date, arose from a descendant of the *Vijianagara* dynasty.

Referring now to the Pandion Chronicle, (chap. 5, sect. 1,)* and to the Supplementary Manuscript, (sect. 7,)† it will be seen that these two authorities agree in dating the Mahomedan conquest of Madura at S. S. 1246, or A.D. 1324, which being shortly after the conquest of the *Belala* kingdom, would lead to the supposition that the conquerors came thence. The two MSS. also agree in fixing the Mysore conquest at S. S. 1293, or A. D. 1371. Hence we should infer that the Mysore kingdom must have, to some extent, recovered itself during the interval of about

* Vol. 1, p. 33. † Ib. p. 203.

forty-seven years. In following particulars the two MSS. widely differ, as a comparative statement will shew.

PANDION CHRONICLE.		SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPT.	
Mahomedan Invasion	S.S. 1246	Mahomedan Invasion	S. S. 1246
Mahomedan Governors	48—1294	Mysore Conquest	1293
Mysore Conquest	1293	Soma-Segara	17
Three persons ruled	33—1326	Soma-Suntera	35
Add one year	1—1327	Raja-Raja	22
Leckina-Naicker	47—1374	Raja-Kunjara	16
Five persons	45—1419	Raja-Segara	18
Narasi-Naicker	3	Rama-Varmen	36
Tenna-Naicker	15—1437	Vartha-Raja	19
Narasu Pillay	4	Cumara-Singhu	16
Timmapa-Naicker	5	Bhima-Sena	40
Kattiya-Naicker	2	Perataba-raja	15
Chinnapa-Naicker	4	Vara-guna	27
Vijaya-Naicker	5	Cumara-Chandren	22
Visvanatha-ayen	9	Varatungen	8
Varathamanner.		Kulottungen	19
Dumichu-Naicker	1-8	Chandra-Segara	35
Visvanatha	1-4	Fifteen kings ruled	345 years, or to S. S. 1638
Vittilpu rajah	12		
Three Naickers	3—1484	Conquest by Nagama-Naicker	1354
Visvanatha-Naicker	1481		

A difference so entire, as regards rulers, can only be explained, so far as we know, by reference to a practice which appears to have obtained in weak Indian governments, wherein the king seems to have been a mere pageant; and all real power in the hands of the commander of the army. Even so we have seen, just before, that while *Saiva-Belala* was king of Mysore, the real power was in the hands of *Danaicker*, his military prime minister: so that even what ought to have been royal grants were made in the name of the general. And by reference to the last section of the Carnataca Dynasty it will be seen that *Vijia-Cumara*, the last sovereign, nominally such, of that race, was a mere pageant of state in the hands of *Myana*. We presume, in consequence, that when the Mysore general, *Campanudiaver*, had driven away the Mahomedans, he set up the Pandion race, according to the statement of the Supplementary Manuscript; but that himself and his descendants held all real

power; and are hence recorded in the Pandion Chronicle. The reader may also, if he pleases, consider the uniform tendencies of all past Hindu governments to split up into small principalities, under ambitious chieftains; and if such were the case then, it might in another way account for one king nominally reigning, but over a portion of the country only; while feuds and fightings among the chieftains would account for their number, and for their passing so rapidly off the scene. As regards the accession of the Carnataca lords, the Pandion Chronicle passes by *Nagama-Naicker*, and speaks of the accession of *Visvanatha-Naicker* as in S. S. 1481 (A. D. 1559); while the Supplementary Manuscript dates the conquest of Madura by *Nagama-Naicker* at S. S. 1354 (A. D. 1432). We are persuaded that this last date is too early by about one hundred years; being perhaps the mistake of a wrong figure, 3 for 4, by the writer or copyist of the manuscript. For the date of S. S. 1454 being assigned to *Nagama-Naicker*, will agree best with the period of *Krishna-rayer's* reign, as fixed by the best authorities; whose general *Nagama-Naicker* was. Besides, while the Supplementary Manuscript gives to fifteen reigns 345 years, and makes out the same number by distinct specification, it brings us thereby to a period too low down; while if we take 1293 from 1354 we have only 61 years for the fifteen reigns, or an average of 4 years each, which is too little; while by adding an hundred years more to 1354 we have an average of nearly 11 years to each reign, which is still little enough. Between the first conquest of *Nagama-Naicker;* his usurping the kingdom; being deposed; the death of *Chandra-Segara;* and the final election of *Visvanatha-Naicker*, an interval of some few years must have occurred. Hence, to fix the first conquest by *Nagama-Naicker* at about S. S. 1460, and the instalment of his son, *Visvanatha-Naicker*, at about S. S. 1480, seems to us best to accord with the true state of the question: supposing that the interval of twenty years may be tolerably well accounted for; and not pretending to exact and definite certainty.

During this interval from the place where we left them, the *Sera* and *Soren* kingdoms must have had their mutations. Being of opinion that manuscript materials exist for making out a somewhat connected account of this period, with regard to these kingdoms, we would not, without timidity, enter on any further notice of them with defective data. The conquest of the *Sera-desam*, by *Aditya-verma-Soren*, in S.S. 816, did no

lead, we are informed by Mr. Wilson,* to a lengthened rule by the *Soren* kings only; but the principality seems not very long after to have lost its distinct name, and to have been partitioned out between the *Belala, Pandion,* and *Soren* monarchies. The *Kerala* province would appear to have passed from the *Belalas* to the *Rayers* of *Vijianagaram,* who deputed viceroys; of whom eighteen are reckoned as ruling during a period of 216 years. The last of the series was named *Cheruman-Perumal,* who turned Mahomedan: and, as a consequence, his state was divided into eighteen separate principalities; either by himself, as some accounts narrate, or, as perhaps is most probable, by the setting up for themselves of so many feudal chieftains, consequent to what would be deemed his apostacy. It is stated that these things occurred in the ninth century, which could not be; both because Mahomedanism had not become well known and formidable in the south of India before the thirteenth century, and because any ascendancy of the *Rayers* of *Vijiana garam,* we may be certain, could not take place except between A.D. 1200 and 1600. Hence there must be a long interval between S. S. 816, or A.D. 894, and A.D. 1200, very imperfectly filled up. The greater probability is, that during that period the three states before-mentioned, or the Mysore, Madura, and Tanjore sovereignties, ruled the Malabar coast, alternately, or conjointly. The statements in the Supplementary Manuscript (sect. 6,) would appear to confirm such an opinion; for *Meru-Suntera-Pandion,* therein fixed by calculation at S. S. 628, is said to have ruled over the *Sera* kingdom; and *Vira-Varma* (S.S. 959,) to have conquered it; that is, as we presume, from the *Soren* king, whose conquest we have seen dated at S. S. 816: but as this would make *Vira-Varma* fight against his own brother, it becomes rather probable that he united with him to repel the *Belalas;* who, between S S. 816 and 959, might have acquired the Malayalim country, while the *Pandions* and *Sorens* were fighting with each other, as we infer, from the Supplementary Manuscript, was the case in the time of *Sadhuru-Vicaren,* who preceded *Vira-Varma* about sixty years.

Turning to the *Soren* kingdom, we find that *Rajarajendra,* (adverted to at p. 68,) who it is possible reigned in the middle of the ninth century, was a powerful and

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. xciii.

warlike prince. He is described as an almost universal conqueror; and of the Pandion king among others; although from the Supplementary Manuscript we can find no place for such conquest, except in repelling the invasion of *Maguda-vardanen;* but then his era is fixed by the same authority at about S.S. 1034, a disagreement of more than a century, in point of time. So uncertain however are these dates, that a century more or less, may possibly be a tolerable approximation; and it is just probable that the conqueror of *Maguda-vardanen* may have been *Rajarajendra-Soren.* Soon after the *Soren* princes appear to have extended their conquests and their power far northward; and we should presume this might be in the time of *Athivira-ramen,* (S.S. 1379,) who united his arms with those of the *Soren* prince; and who perhaps ought to be placed a little earlier in date. But the *Yadava* princes checked the progress of the *Soren* invasions in the eleventh century;* and the *Kakateya* princes expelled them from the northern provinces in the twelfth century. In that century also the persecution of the *Vaishnava* zealot, *Ramanuja,* is fixed. There must have been a continued succession of *Soren* princes, down to the visit of the *Rayer's* general, *Cottiya-Nagama-Naicker,* to replace *Chandra-segaren* on the throne; and still running parallel with the *Pandions,* from *Athivira-ramen* down to the last; though, as we presume, never conquered by the Mahomedans, and most probably benefitting by the unsettled state of the *Pandion* kingdom after their expulsion, and down to the actual driving of *Chandra-segara* from his throne: leading to his appeal to the *Rayer,* and to that entire change which brought about the supremacy of the Carnataca dynasty; at first as viceroys from *Vijianagaram,* and, on the fall of this state, as independent sovereigns.

We have in vain looked for distinct indications, as to date, of the removal of the *Soren* capital from *Uriyur.* Tradition uniformly assigns as the cause a shower of sand, which buried the town, and destroyed many of the inhabitants. A legendary and absurd mythological reason is assigned, in the profanation of a *muni's* garden and stealing from it some *Sivendha* flowers, inducing him to pronounce a malediction on the city; a tale too inane to be dwelt on for a moment; but the fact itself, of a shower of sand, or mud, which seems to be well attested, and to border on the

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. lxxxix.

marvellous, if not miraculous, may admit of a few observations as to possible secondary causes. We have more than once seen, at Madras, sand-clouds raised to some height, and as distinctly defined as other clouds; but distinguishable from great peculiarity of colour: these have been only slight and partial phenomena. But particularly in August 1824, and in June 1833, we noticed the whole atmosphere unusually darkened; and a strong wind, followed by considerable deposit of sand from a loaded atmosphere, which did not become clear till after the lapse of a quarter of an hour. The last occurrence of the two was the most remarkable: both took place after a period of unusual drought, and in the season of the strong westerly winds. Let it be supposed that a superincumbent rain-cloud should discharge its contents over this substratum of fine sand raised by the wind; and then, in such a particular locality, a shower of mud must literally descend; such as tradition declares did rain down on *Uriyur*. The miraculous part of the business, which at the least seems to partake of a special visitation of Divine Providence, is the pouring down of such a mud-shower on one precise locality, the capital of a kingdom. The seat of government was removed, it is said, to Combaconum, which retains some tokens, though not strongly marked, of having been the seat of power. At *Maiyaveram*, about twenty miles north, there are the remains of a palace and of a choultry on the plan of that of *Trimal-Naig* at Madura, though smaller and less splendid. At what time the capital was transferred to Tanjore, we have not discovered. It must have been antecedent to the march of *Cottama-Nagama-Naicker* to restore *Chandra-Segara* (about S. S. 1460, A. D. 1538); for his dethronement is specifically attributed to the king of Tanjore. We find notices afterwards, in the Carnataca Dynasty, of differences between the king of Tanjore and *Visvanatha-Naicker*, leading to the transfer of Trichinopoly from the former to the latter. By the end of the seventeenth century the Madura lords had become too formidable to the king of Tanjore, unaided. Having invoked the aid of the Mahrattas, *Ekoji*, the half-brother of *Sivaji*, at the head of an army, defended him from his neighbour, but proceeded to assume the government;* thus commencing the Mahratta dynasty of Tanjore, and ending the ancient

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. xc.

Soren line of princes, about two centuries after the extinction of the ancient race of *Pandions.*

We have now only to add some notice of *Vijianagaram*, and shall have completed the outline survey, which connects the leading manuscript in this volume with those in the preceding one.

The origin of the *Vijianagaram* kingdom is not without attendant obscurity, both as to manner and date. A distinguished scholar, named *Madhava*, with the titular appellation of *Vidyaranya* (or forest of learning), according to the mythological part of the statement, propitiated the favor of the goddess *Bhuvanesvari*, (a form of *Parvati*,) and was in consequence directed to the discovery of a hidden treasure, which he bestowed on two brothers, named *Harihara* and *Bukha-Raya*. These last two persons appear to have been sons of *Sangama*, most probably a feudal chieftain of *Tuluva*, under the *Belala* rajas: but they themselves were, apparently, soldiers of fortune, who had been in the service of the *Warankal* kings; and, on the overthrow of this state, by the Mahomedans, all accounts agree, that the two brothers carried with them a remnant of military forces, who were *Telinganas*; and, by their means, aided by the counsels and wealth (however acquired) of *Madhava Vidyaranya*, founded a new city on the south bank of the *Tungabhadra*, or *Tembudra* river; which afterwards became very extensive, connected suburbs being on the north bank. The date usually given for this location is S. S. 1258, A.D. 1336; and the building, according to the first plan, is said to have been finished S. S. 1265, or A. D. 1343.* This date Mr. Wilson † supposes may be too early, because the earliest of the grants of *Bukha-Raya* is dated A. D. 1370, and the latest, 1375. But this might very well be, if *Harihara* reigned, in chief, down to A. D. 1350,‡ and *Bukha-Raya* thenceforwards and down to 1378. And if, as Colonel Wilks has stated,§ the capture of *Warankal*, in A. D. 1323, led to the formation of this more southern kingdom, which was destined, for two centuries, to check the progress of the Mahomedans, then it would seem that the foundation must have been as early as A. D. 1336. Mr. Wilson indeed admits that the

* Hamilton's East India Gazetteer—Art. *Bijnagur*. † Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxliii.
‡ Hamilton, Ib. § South of India, chap. 1.

traditionary chronology is probably not very far from the truth. A list from *Permatur*, it may be noted, fixes that foundation so early as A. D. 1215. The descendants of *Harihara* (who is sometimes called *Aka-Hurryhur*) have been termed the *Hurryhur* dynasty; and sometimes that of *Kuruba*. The number is thirteen.* The names are—*Vijaya*, thirteen years; *Visvadeva*, eight years; *Rama-deva*, seven years; *Virupaksha*, five years; *Mallikarjuna*, seven years; *Rama-chandra*, seven years; *Saluvaganda*, seven years; *Devaraya*, fifteen years; *Kumb-haya*, five years; *Kumara*, four years; *Saluaganda*, seven years; *Saluva-Narasinh*, forty-nine years; *Immadideva*, eleven years; coming down to A. D. 1488, and dating the accession of *Vijaya* in A. D. 1341. Some of the names are also conjectured to be interpolated.† The names and dates substantiated by grants are stated by Mr. Wilson to be—*Bukha-Raya*, A. D. 1370—75; *Harihara*, 1385, 1429; *Deva-Raya*, 1426—58; *Mallikarjuna*, 1451—65; *Virupaksha*, 1473—79. It is not indeed necessary to suppose, that every prince must have made a grant, and every grant recorded; yet still the difference between A. D. 1479 and 1488 is unimportant. Details of events in this interval, after the foundation of the capital, are not attainable. The name of the city is said to have been at first *Vidyanagara*,‡ or the City of Learning, in compliment to *Madhava:* but was afterwards called *Vijeyanagara*, or the City of Victory. The progress of the state appears to have been considerable in *Tuluva*, *Karnata*, *Telingana;* but checked, on the north, by the Mahomedan *Bhamini* sultans. A rising state does not usually at first attract jealous notice from its neighbourhood; and, at a somewhat later time, the resistance made to the attempt of Mahomed III. to remove his capital from Delhi to Deogerh led to great weakness, dissensions, and divisions among the natural enemies of this state; by which means, as Colonel Wilks has remarked, the rising kingdom was allowed to gain strength, before the subsequent struggles, which finally ended in its overthrow. Nevertheless, from circumstances only obscurely recorded, a change of dynasty took place by the accession of *Narasinha* to the throne. At all events he came to it irregularly; and was of a different family and country to those preceding him.

* Des. Cata. pp. 291—2. † Ib. p. 293. ‡ Colonel Wilks, and Hamilton's Gazetteer.

His reign was twenty-one years, between A. D. 1488 and 1509.* His illegitimate son, *Krishna-Raya*, was the most famous of all the *Narasinha* dynasty: his conquests were extensive, and his power, nominally at least, very great. It is not certain that internal good government kept pace with external splendor and conquest: probably not so. His reign is fixed at A. D. 1509 to 1529† or twenty years. Mr. Wilson states ‡ that it was this prince who sent *Nagama-Naicker* to assist the Pandion king against the *Soren* invader. In the Carnataca Dynasty, or smaller MSS. we do not find the name of the Rayer specified. Colonel Wilks (in a note, p. 54, chap. 2,) says that *Nagana-Naidoo* founded the dynasty of Madura Naicks, being sent by *Achuta-Rayer*, (successor to *Krishna-Rayer*,) at about A. D. 1532. This is seventy-two years later than we had taken the liberty, by a conjectural emendation, to place him (p. 88); and it does not consist with the date usually assigned to *Krishna-Rayer*. The Carnataca Dynasty does not give us the date of *Nagama-Naicker's* usurpation, nor that of the accession of *Visvanatha-Naicker*; but it fixes a very important proceeding in his reign at S. S. 1354, or A. D. 1432, being the same date which the Supplementary Manuscript assigns to the conquest by *Nagama-Naicker*, and considerably antecedent to the accession of the *Narasinha* dynasty. We presume, therefore, that this date is much too early, because some considerable time must have elapsed between the two events, and for reasons before urged. Upon the whole, there would seem to be a greater concurrence of circumstances in the person of *Krishna-Rayer* than any other; but the dates do not accord. Suppose we adopt the conjectural emendation of 3 being written for 4, adding one hundred years to the date in the Supplementary Manuscript, which is S. S. 1354; then S. S. 1454, or A. D. 1532, brings us to the third year of either *Sadasiva* or *Achuta-Rayer*, and to the precise date given by Colonel Wilks; which, by the way, we had not noticed when adopting the conjecture in question. Possibly this date may be the exact truth; but if so, we must carry the correction along with the dates given in the Carnataca Dynasty. It is some confirmation that it accords with the date assigned to *Visvanatha-Naicker* in the Pandion Chronicle, which is S. S. 1481,

* Des. Cata. p. 292. † Ib. ‡ Ib. Intro. p. lxxx.

or A. D. 1559, allowing twenty-seven years for intermediate events. The matter may perhaps be further attended to as we proceed. *Nagama-Naicker*, at all events, must have been general to *Krishna-Rayer*, having the southernmost portion of that king's extensive conquests assigned to him as his military government. It is also probable that the complaint of *Chandra-Segara-Pandion* was preferred to *Krishna-Rayer* towards the close of his reign; and that the orders to repel the *Soren* and replace the *Pandion* king were given by him. During the accomplishment, *Krishna-Rayer* in all probability died; and the circumstances immediately following his decease would no doubt encourage *Nagama-Naicker* to set up for himself in the newly conquered kingdom. For *Krishna-Rayer* had no legitimate male children; and *Achuta-Rayer,* the nearest heir,* variously termed brother, cousin, and nephew, was absent; and the late Rayer's minister, ostensibly according to the deceased king's order, set up *Sadasiva,* a pageant prince, under his own tutelage, until the return of *Achuta-Rayer*, and his assumption of the sovereignty. Here are circumstances very favorable to *Nagama-Naicker's* rebellion; and even without express treachery to his former master. If such were the state of circumstances, we must presume that though *Visvanatha-Naicker* rose into notice and employ under *Krishna-Rayer,* yet that it was by one of the latter's successors, that the founder of the Carnataca dynasty was formally designated to the viceroyalty of Madura.

As the decline of the *Vijianagaram* state after *Krishna-Rayer,* and its total overthrow by the Mahomedan princes, after the battle of *Tellicotta,* in which *Rama-raja,* the ruling prince, was slain, must come under further notice in the progress of our annotations on the Carnataca Dynasty, it will not be needful to proceed with the subject in this connective survey. Our inquiries have had a wide range, often with feeble light to guide them: the conclusions come to by consequence are not always certain; but they give us at least some rude traces, and general outlines, sufficient to enable us to perceive, that the course of public affairs in the Peninsula of India was, on the whole, as busy, as fluctuating, as sanguinary, and as iniquitous, as those of any other portion of the world during the same period.

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxiv.

NOTES.

PANDION CHRONICLE.—Chap. IV. Sec. 5.

The *Rayer* dynasty in this section is not placed in its due chronological order; but considerably too early, as the foregoing survey will suffice to make evident. The names also of the different rulers are not given in regular order; and the periods assigned to their reigns appear too great. The names and dates given in a page a little preceding this, were taken from the first volume of Professor Wilson's Descriptive Catalogue. It may not be amiss, for the sake of general comparison, to add the names and dates as they are given, from materials furnished by Colonel Mackenzie, by A. D. Campbell, Esq. in the Introduction to his Teloogoo Grammar.* It is described by that gentleman as, "Translation of an extract from the *Gutpurtee* Manuscript in his (Colonel Mackenzie's) valuable and extensive collection, containing, in the form of a prophecy, a chronological account of these kings;" and is the following one.

			Y.	M.	D.
"A.S. 1258,	A.D. 1336—1	In the Saleevahan Sakum 1258, in the year Daatoo, on the 2d of Vysakum month, on the new moon, *Hurryhur Raya* will commence his reign at Anagoondy. The whole of his reign will be	14	0	0
1272,	1350—2	After him, his brother *Booka Royaloo* will succeed in that kingdom and will reign	29	8	0
1301,	1379—3	Next *Hurryhur Royaloo the second* will rule . .	22	0	0
1323,	1401—4	After him *Veejaya Booka Royaloo* will rule . . .	17	0	0
1340,	1418—5	Upon his death *Palla Booka Royaloo* will rule . .	16	0	0
1356,	1434—6	After which *Gunda Dava Royaloo* will rule . . .	20	0	0
1376,	1454—7	After him *Raja Saker Royaloo* will rule	0	9	0
1376,	1455—8	After that *Veejayooloo* will rule	0	10	0
1378,	1456—9	*Proudha* or *Pratapa Dava Royaloo* will rule . . .	21	0	0
1399,	1477—10	After him *Veera Royaloo* will rule	4	0	0
1403,	1481—11	After him *Mallicar Royaloo* will govern	6	0	0
1409,	1487—12	*Ramachundra Royaloo* will next rule	1	0	0

* Page. xi, note.

A. S.	A. D.		Y.	M.	D.
1410,	1488—13	*Veeroopacha Royaloo* will govern	2	0	0
1412,	1490—14	*Narasinga Royaloo* will rule	5	0	0
1417,	1495—15	After him *Narasa Royaloo* will rule (including 5 years in the name of)	13	0	0
1426,	1504—16	His son *Veera Narsimha Royaloo* from the Cycle year Raktachee A. S. 1426.			
1430,	1509—17	The second son of *Narasa Royaloo*, named *Krishna Royaloo*, will rule from the Cycle year Sookla of the Visaka month	21	0	0
1452,	1530—18	From the Cycle year Veecrooty *Achoota Dava Royaloo* will reign	12	0	0
1464,	1542—19	From thence *Saleca Timma Raaze*. From the beginning of the Cycle year Soobacroot in the Jasta month, *Rama Royaloo* will rule 22 years in the name of . . .	22	0	0
1486,	1564—20	*Sadaseevoo Royaloo* and keeping him in his possession. The kingdom of Veejeyanagur will then end with *Rama Royaloo*.			

A. S.	A. D.		Y.	M.	D.
1451,	1569—	The country will be in great confusion then for .	5	0	0
1451,	1569—21	In the Cycle year Pramodoota *Teroomal Royaloo* will establish himself as king, at Penoogonda, and will rule	0	11	0
1494,	1572—22	His son *Sree Runga Royaloo* will then reign from the Cycle year Angeerasa of the 10th of Vysakam . .	14	0	0
1507,	1585—23	After which, from the Cycle Paardeva of the 10th of Maugum of the full moon *Vencataputty Royaloo* will rule	28	8	15

After him, of the kings of the Chundra race none will remain; and foreign kings will rule the land, deriving their authority from no legal right.

A. S.	A. D.		Y.	M.	D.
1536,	1614—24	First *Chicka Royaloo* will rule	0	4	0
1552,	1630—25	After him *Rama Rauze*, changing his true name to that of *Ramadava Rayel*, for	15	5	0
		After this, the country will be in great disorder for some time, and prodigies and portentous omens will appear between the year Bahoodanya and Nundana .	15	0	0

(Here the Account terminates in a prophetical annunciation of a Deliverer of the Hindoo race.) From circumstances, observes Colonel Mc.Kenzie, we may infer that this account was written A. D. 1630."

PANDION CHRONICLE, Chap. V. Sec. 1.—SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPT, Sec. 7.

The irruption of the Mahomedans into the Peninsula seems to have been accompanied with as much vigour, rapidity, success, and barbarity, as in any other instance of their well known predatory invasions. The first Mahomedan force that crossed the *Tapti* river * was led by *Alla-u'din*, nephew and afterwards successor of *Ferose*, the Patan king of Delhi, in A.D. 1293. This expedition was directed against *Deva-giri*, or Deogerh, heretofore mentioned (p. 82—3), the *Tagara* of Ptolemy, and the modern Dowletabad. The place was then plundered, and the extent of the spoils encouraged another invasion, when the place was finally taken, and *Rajah Ramdeva* was carried prisoner to Delhi, in 1306, by *Kafoor*, or *Melick-Naib*, general of *Alla-u'din*. The first army that crossed the Kistna river was led by *Kafoor* against *Dhoor-Summooder*,† (more correctly *Dwara-Samudra*,) the capital of the *Belala* kingdom, then under the government of *Belal-deva*. This was A.D. 1310. It is intimated by Ferishta ‡ that this incursion was partly caused by the failure of an expedition sent against *Warankal* in the preceding year. He tells us, that in A.D. 1309, Alla I. sent to reduce *Warankal*, without success; and next year *Melick-Naib* was sent out by him, who invaded the Carnatic, (meaning the Mysore country,) took *Belal-deo* prisoner, and then pushed on his depredations to *Seet Bunder Ramessar*, a Mahomedan way of expressing the *Sethu*, or (in former days) isthmus of Ramiseram. It is added, that this general built a mosque there; § and that he again invaded the Dekhan (or South) in 1312. The same author, in another work, according to Colonel Dow's translation, assigns a further cause as the excitement to the attack and plunder of *Belal-deo*. Alla I., who had come to the throne by the murder of his uncle *Ferose*, meditated the placing himself at the head of a new religion, and also devised a scheme of universal conquest. *Alla-ul-mulk*, the chief religious authority at Delhi, put his life in his hand, and ventured to dissuade the monarch against his scheme of a new religion; prevailing unexpectedly in this point, the king sought to gain his approbation of the plan of universal conquest, preparatory to which he had already vaingloriously assumed the name of *Secunder-Sani*, or Alexander the Second: the religious man pointed out strong reasons against this measure also, and advised the prosecution of conquests in the south of India.‖ This advice prevailed; and *Melick-Naib Kafoor* was appointed to the command. If any thing could add to the ignominy of being conquered, it might be found in the infamous character of Alla I., and the, if possible, still more detestable *Kafoor*. The spoils of this expedition against *Dwara-Samudra* were immense: the historian speaks of 96,000 maunds of gold,¶ and chests of jewels and pearls; silver, being thought an incumbrance, was thrown away by the soldiers in their return. Some allowance must be made for exaggeration. There is no doubt however that en-

* Colonel Wilks, South of India, chap. 1.

† Its site has been identified by Colonel Mackenzie with the ruins near to *Hallabi*, 105 miles N. W. of Seringapatam. Colonel Wilks, Ib.

‡ History of the Dekhan, Scott's translation. § Scott's Ferishta. ‖ Dow's Ferishta, 2d edition, vol. 1, p. 251.

¶ Ib. p. 277.

couragement to a great extent was given to an invasion of the South. How far *Kafoor* penetrated in his second expedition, does not distinctly appear. Our manuscripts fix the conquest of Madura at S. S. 1246, or A. D. 1324; and, as this date agrees with the statement in Dow's Ferishta, it renders the account of *Kafoor's* having penetrated to Ramiseram rather questionable. For the complete subjugation of the South is therein ascribed to Mahomed III.,* and stated to have been accomplished in 1326. He is said to have "reduced the Carnatic to the extremities of the Dekhan and from sea to sea, obliging all the rajas to pay him tribute." This Mahomed III., of all human monsters, was one of the most extravagantly absurd and ferocious. His leading out his army on a hunting excursion into a peaceful district, then telling them they were come to hunt men,† and carrying back thousands of heads, hanging them over the city walls, is a sufficient specimen. From the expressions used in the Pandion Chronicle, the Mahomedan conquest would appear to have been attended with great cruelties; and it must be remembered, that at that period the Mahomedan armies were endued with a religious frenzy, as considering themselves divinely commissioned to root out idolaters and punish idolatry,‡ wherever they could acquire the opportunity and the power to do so. Under these circumstances, the removing the image of the tutelary deity into a place of greater safety, in the Travancore country, was but a natural proceeding on the part of the Bramins. We, on the other hand, may feel more sympathy with the people than with the images. The Mahomedan rule at this time, under various chiefs, most likely generals or military commanders, is fixed at forty-eight years by the MSS. or from S. S. 1246 down to 1293. This latter date, left blank in the Pandion Chronicle, is given in the Supplementary Manuscript. It may be observed that the construction of the manuscripts, the names agreeing with plural verbs, induced us to translate as there written. We have subsequently been inclined to conjecture that *Nemian* might not mean a proper name, but *one nominated* from *Athi-sultan-mulk*, although the construction rather favors the translation given. Before the death of Mahomed III. he had lost, by his absurd and impolitic measures, whatever had been gained by his predecessors or himself; and the Patan empire of Delhi, we are told by Ferishta, was reduced to the same limits which bounded it before the successful reign of Alla.§

PANDION CHRONICLE, Chap V. Sec. 2, 3.—SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPT, Sec. 8.

We have before adverted (p. 87) to the difficulty of reconciling the differences, in these

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* Dow's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 301. † Ib. p. 308.

‡ We need not perhaps be surprised at such a persuasion resting on their minds, when we find the "sure word of prophecy" declaring what should be the character of Mahomedan armies. Revelation, chap. 9, v. 16—21. The reader, who may not have attended to this view of the subject, will do well to consult Bishop Newton's sound and judicious exposition of prophecy (vol. 2, chap. 9). The period assigned to their licence he fixes between A. D. 1281 and 1672. The calculation, however, pertains to Europe and professing Christians, and also relates more especially to the Turcomans. The Afghans, or Patans, and afterwards the Moguls, appear to have had a somewhat different office assigned to them in the mysterious dispensations, or permission, of Divine Providence.

§ Dow's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 323.

places, of the two manuscripts, and may now simply refer the reader thither. We should be quite at a loss, but for the Mahomedan annals, to account for so speedy a recovery of the Mysore power after the defeat of *Belala-deva* and plunder of his capital in A. D. 1310—11. The Mackenzie MSS. or inscriptions, yield no distinct traces of their power or influence after that disaster. But from Ferishta we are enabled conclusively to infer, that either the conquered king himself, or his son, must have retained the kingdom, most probably in the character of a tributary to Delhi. It will be remembered also, that in A. D. 1323, *Warankal*, the capital of the *Ganapathi* kingdom, fell before the Mahomedans; and, according to the account given by Ferishta, in A. D. 1343, *Kisnanaig*, son of *Lidderdeo*, of Arinkil (or *Warankal*), went privately to *Belal-deo*, the prince of the Carnatic, (that is Carnata,) and represented to him the importance of combining against the Mahomedans. For such a league the time was certainly favorable: since Mahomed III. had wasted all his means; had made himself ridiculous and hateful in the eyes of his subjects; had depreciated the currency of the country; and had failed in an expedition against China, wherein numbers of his best troops had perished, partly by the snows of Himalaya, and want of supplies, partly by the Chinese army opposing the invaders. Under such circumstances the league formed by the aboriginal native princes proved formidable and successful. Ferishta says, that *Belal-deo* built a strong city on the frontier of his dominions, and called it Bigur; that the Mahomedans were driven away on all sides; and, that within a few months Mahomed had no possession in the Dekhan† except Dowletabad: being the city which he had so injudiciously sought to make his capital, giving it this name, instead of its former one of *Dwara-Samudra*. Whether Bigur be the same with Bednore; or whether it may intend *Vijianagaram*, or some other locality, we do not determine. Ferishta states, that at the death of Mahomed III., A. D. 1446, a kind of empire was long established in the Dekhan independant of the crown of Delhi.‡ This empire must, apparently, be the rising kingdom of *Vijianagaram;* and though its origin is not very clearly stated, either in Mahomedan or native annals, yet it is probable that the beginning of real power must have been antecedent to the foundation of *Vijianagaram*, as commonly reputed, in A. D. 1336; and the league before mentioned, which may have had the aid of counsel from *Madhava-Vidyaranya*, might have been its real commencement, or between the overthrow of *Warankal*, A. D. 1323, and the era of the foundation, 1336.

It is sufficient for our immediate object thus to have a clue given whereby to trace the possibility of a Mysore army driving away the Mahomedans within so short a period of time after the sacking of *Dwara-Samudra*, and forty-eight years after the capture of Madura; the date assigned to this rescue S. S. 1293, A. D. 1371, agrees very well with the other indications given. *Campanudiaver*, the general of the Mysore rajah's forces, we suppose to have been a feudal chieftain as well as military commander: for *Udiaver*, we conceive to be the Tamil mode of spelling the word which Colonel Wilks terms *Wadeyar*, that is, the lord of thirty-three villages; a title subsequently assumed by the Mysore kings of another dynasty, and borne also as a title by the *Jangama* priests. The reader must be apprized,

† Dow's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 312. ‡ Ib. vol. 2, p. 45.

or reminded, that the reigning dynasty at Mysore did not succeed to the throne until a later period than the one now in question. In the Preface to this work, a conjecture was thrown out as to the possibility of this Mysore general having established himself, or his own descendants, in authority at Madura; but, if so, it must, in all probability, have been in the character of *Dalavayi*, or military commander, often more authoritative than the regal post itself: as the question has been discussed, at p. 87 of this volume, to that we must again refer. Whether the Mysore general extended his authority to Tanjore; whether the Mahomedans had acquired any power there; or whether the capital of the *Soren* kingdom had yet been removed from *Uriyur*, we cannot determine; though some of the Mackenzie MSS. would probably yield, on examination, the requisite data. The Mysore general, most probably, came to the rescue of Madura direct from the Ghauts, by the *Gujulhuttee* pass.

The miracle in the Madura temple, on the entry of *Campanudiaver*, will not be so surprising to the reader—who considers the various modes of entry accessible to the Bramins—as the same miracle seems to have been in the eyes of the Mysore general. Most temples have private doors, or else wickets in the greater gates; and, besides, a little light is thrown on this subject by the thirty-fourth *Tiruvilliadel.*

PANDION CHRONICLE, CHAP. V. SEC. 4.—SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPT, SEC. 9.—CARNATACA DYNASTY, SEC. 1.

We now come to the point where the last-mentioned manuscript, the leading one in this volume, meets the two others. The much greater fulness of details in the latter manuscript will enable us to dispense, for sometime, with any further minute attention to either of the two former ones. The discrepancy of dates in these two, as to the commencement of the rule of the northern viceroys, has been adverted to and reconciled:* we have no date mentioned, in the last one, till section 5; and by the time when we come to that section, we shall have had the assistance of dates in some minor manuscripts, to be adduced in evidence on various details.

The writer of the History of the Carnataca Governors, termed by us, for brevity's sake, the Carnataca dynasty, has made a slip of the pen at the outset, inasmuch as *Penukondai* is a distinct place, at some distance from *Vijianagaram*, and of later foundation; but he probably intended *Anagundi*, and being a *Southron*, confounded the two together. *Anagundi* was a suburb on the north bank of the Toomboodra, and *Vijianagaram*-Proper on the south bank; somewhat analogous, in the main feature of the case, to the city of London and the borough of Southwark. The remaining ruins attest the ancient extent; and, to some degree, the bygone splendor; though on the latter point European and Asiatic ideas widely differ. The *Durga* referred to in this first section, is most probably the form termed *Bhuvaneswari*, which the sage *Madhava Vidyaranya* is said to have propitiated, so as to lead to the first foundation of the town, by the two brothers *Harihara* and *Bukha-rayer.*

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* pp. 88, 94.

We infer, that from the time of *Vicramaditya* downwards, the worship of the sanguinary goddess *Kali* had continued to prevail in those northern portions of the Peninsula. The *Nava-rattiri*, a festival of nine days to her honor, was publicly observed, we shall see, by the offset kingdoms in Mysore and Madura; and, from the mode of celebration in these, we infer that a main point of the amusements was in the combats of gladiators with wild beasts, on the model of ancient Rome and modern Spain. This festival in honor of *Durga* still continues to be celebrated in *Saiva* temples, and throughout the Peninsula; though, of course, not in the same national manner: it is held in the month *Peratasi*, or September. At that time peons, or soldiers, pay homage to their weapons, the same in kind as to their idols; the artisan worships his implements; the writer does divine honors to his pen; and the school-boy makes *pujei* to the books he is learning. So puerile is idolatry in its concomitants! as if the instrument were more than the hand that wields it; not to say any thing further of the system. Our readers of course are endowed with reflection; and they will not, we presume, require any further remarks on the contents of this section of the manuscript, whether legendary or historical, either to strengthen their credence, or add to their information.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 2.

Previous to making any observations of our own, on this portion of our subject, we would introduce the mention of some minor manuscripts in our possession; which, from the preface to them, appear to have been copied out and put together by the head Bramin at Madura, in consequence of the visit of the late F. W. Ellis, Esq. to that place, in the year 1819. They stop at different periods; leaving open the conjecture of their having been originally written at earlier and various dates; but, as a whole, they form one native book, as large as the manuscript under annotation. With a slight exception of some frivolous or wholly irrelevant matter, they bear on the elucidation of this northern dynasty which ruled at Madura. Hence, notwithstanding their containing some repetitions of matters before narrated, we shall introduce them, *seriatim*, as they generally add something new, or put some known fact in a new point of observation. We know not if these MSS. came into the possession of Mr. Ellis, but suppose they did not, from his having died at Ramiseram so soon after his visit to Madura. The head Bramin was then named *Mirtanjeya-Pattar;* and, in order to avoid circumlocution, we shall refer to them as the *Mirtanjeya* Manuscripts. The first of them, goes over the matter of the opening sections of the Carnataca Dynasty; but with a few additional circumstances. It is the following one.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CARNATACA LORDS

Who ruled in the Madura country; at first governed by Kula-Segara-Pandion, and lastly by Chandra-Segara-Pandion.

The *Maha Raja*, who ruled in *Vijianagaram*, had placed *Nagama-Naicker* in charge of collecting the revenues, or tribute, arising from the southern countries; being Nanchi-nattu, or Travancore, and the district of Arcot. The *Rayer's* own army consisted of 20,000 cavalry, and 6,000 elephants, which were placed under *Nagama-Naicker's* command; besides which, he had of his own retainers 6,000 cavalry, and 20,000 infantry. While he thus held an extensive and responsible charge under the *Rayer*, he made a pilgrimage to *Casi*, in consequence of having no child; and there, in the presence of the god called *Visvanatha*, he, during forty days, maintained a restricted diet, without salt, and was engaged in performing devotions. On the forty-first night, in the third *jamam* (or watch), the god *Visvanatha* appeared in a dream, and said, "For a length of time you have been paying homage to me. To-morrow, when you are performing the morning ablution in the Ganges, we will exhibit to you the image of an emerald *lingam;* if you render homage to it, you will receive a son, and will acquire great fame." According to the dream, on the morrow, when they bathed in the Ganges, an emerald *lingam* struck upon their feet. On examining the ground with their hands, they found a very beautiful *lingam.* Taking it up with unspeakable joy, having come into the presence of the god, and having performed many charitable donations, receiving the favor of the god, they again returned to *Vijianagaram.* While they were occupied in performing ceremonies of worship to the emerald *lingam*, the wife of *Nagama-Naicker* was delivered of a son. They named the child *Visvanatha-Naicker*, and day by day had him instructed in learning and general knowledge, and in the art of fencing; until, at the age of sixteen years, the young man had become very accomplished.

முனமதுரையிலகுலசேகரபாணடியன முதலகடைசிசநதிரசேகரபாணடியனுக்
குப்பிரகுக்கறனுடகததுரையளபடடம்ஆணட பேர்களுடையவிபரம். யெனனவெ
ணருலவிசையநகறம் மகாருச-ா-ராயர்வர்களதொசெகாணுஅதிகாறததுக்கு ஆறக்காடு
முதலநாஞசியநாடடுவரைக்கும்ராச்சியததிலவசூலாகுர்பணம் யாவததும்நாகமநாய
க்கர்வர்களமாரிபததாயசெயதுராயர்வர்கள காசாதபெலாயிருபதிநாயிரங்குதிரைஆ
ராயிரம்யானையிவர்விசாரணையாகநேமிததுயிதுவலலாமல நாகமநாயக்கர்வர்களசொந
ததில ஆராயிரங்குதிரையும்யிருபதினுயிரம்கால்பலமும்வச்சுக்கொணடுராயர்வர்கள
இடததிலசகலவிசாரணையாயிருக்குமிடததிலஇவருக்குபுததிரசநதானமிலலாமலகாசிக்
குசதிபுருஷாளஇருவரும்போயவிசுவனுதறசனனிதானததிலநாறப்பதுனுளஅலயண
மாயசாப்பிடடுக்கொணடுபசனைபணணிக்கொணடிருநததிலநாறப்பததொருநாளரா
ததிரிமூனுசாமததுக்குவிசுவனுதசுவாமிஇவர்களுக்குசொறப்பனம்சாதிச்சதுவெகு
நாளாயநம்மைக்கோரிபிருத்தினைபணணிக்கொணடியிருநதீர்களேநாளையதினம்கெங
கையிலபிராதஷிதானம்பணணுகுர்போதுமறகதலிஙக சொரூபமாய காட்சிகொடுக்கு
ரோம்அநதலிஙகததைபூசைபணணிக்கொணடுவநதாலபுததிரசநதானம்உணடாகுது
அனேசகிறததி பெறறீருப்பீர்களயெனறுசொறப்பனம்சாதிச்சமெறைக்கி உதையாதி
யிலசுவாமியைபிருப்புததிச்சுஷதானம்பணணுகுர்போதுமர்கதலிஙகம்முளஙகாவில
தடடுபடடுது யெனனமோவெனறுதடவிப்பாறக்கும்போதுமகாதேசோபுஞசமாய
மர்கதலிஙகம்கய்யிலகப்படடுது அபாறமானசநதோஷததுடனே யெடுததுக்கொண
டுசுவாமிசனனிதானததுக்குவநது அணெகதானதறம்மஙகளசெயதுசுவாமிகடாட்சம்
பெறறுமருபடியெதாஷிதானம் விசையநகாம்வநதுசேநது மர்கதலிஙகததுக்குபூசை
புனஷக்காரம்செயதுகொணடியிருக்கும்போதுநாகமநாயக்கர்வர்களபெணசாதிகெர்
ப்பமாயகுமாரனபிறநதார்அவருக்குவிசுவனுதநாயக்கனெனறுபேரிடடுநாளுக்குநாள
விததைபுததிசாமுசாதனையளகறறுசகலததிலேயுமகாப்பிறவீணிதையாகபதினுருவயசு
ஆச்சுதுஅப்போதுராயர்வர்கள சமஷிதானததுதிடடம்நவராததிரைபணடிகைக்கிராய

At that time, according to the established custom of the capital, it was incumbent on the *Rayer* to go out to hunt during the *Nava-rattiri* feast; and having spread nets, on a wild buffalo being caught, then it must, according to rule, be presented as a sacrifice to *Durga*. *Visvanatha-Naicker*, being sixteen years of age, went out to the king's hunt at the *Nava-rattiri* feast, when the animal, as usual, was caught; but it had uncommonly strong and lengthy horns, extending even to the rump, so that no one could, by a single blow, separate the head from the body; and there was great grief, arising from an apprehension of danger threatened to the state. The *Durga* appeared to *Visvanatha*, and bid him go and offer his services on the occasion; adding, that if the blow were struck with his hand, the head would fall from the animal's shoulders. Accordingly *Visvanatha-Naicker* went to the *Rayer;* and on asking permission to cut off the animal's head, the same was accorded. On striking the beast, he severed the head from the shoulders at a blow. The *Rayer* was greatly rejoiced, and praised him highly, giving to him the royal jewels which were on his own person; and said, "As you were born by a peculiar favor of the gods, I shall make you ruler of some kingdom:" thus giving him a promise of future promotion.

Soon after the kings of the *Anga*, *Vanga*, *Calinga*, *Casmira*, and *Nepala* countries withheld the tribute to the *Rayer* which they had been accustomed to pay; of which he received information from his agents employed in the different zillahs. The *Rayer*, being displeased, sent *Visvanatha-Naicker*, at the head of an army, and he conquered all these kings; and having carefully arranged for the future payment of the tribute, according to past customs, he returned to the *Rayer;* and, on reporting his proceedings, the *Rayer* was much satisfied with him, made him many presents, and kept him near his own person, he being in high favor.

During this state of circumstances, *Vira-Segara-Soren*, king of Tanjore, forcibly took possession of the kingdom of Madura, ruled by *Chandra-Segara-Pandion;* in consequence of which act, the latter came to the *Rayer* and preferred a complaint. The *Rayer* sent for *Nagama-Naicker*, and said to him, "Since the country of *Chandra-Segara-Pandion* is within the boundaries of your jurisdiction, you will go and conquer *Vira-Segara-Soren;* and, by every available means, having obtained posses-

ர்வர்கள வேடடைக்குபோயவலையளகடடிகாடடுயெருமைக்கிடாயபிடிச்சுவநதுதுறக்கைக்கிபெலிகுடுததுநவராததிரி பணடிகைமாமூலாயி நடநதுவருகுறது விசுவ நாதநாயக்கருக் குபதினாறுவதுவருஷம் நவராததிரை பணடிகைக்கி ராயர்வர்கள வேடடைக்கு போயகாடடுமகிஷம்பிடிச்சு கொணடுவநததில அநதமகிஷத துக்குகொம்பு பெரிசாய வாலுமடடுக்கும்பினனாடியிருநதபடியினாலேயிததைஒருவெடடிலே யார்வெடடிதுறக்கைக்கிபெலிகுடுக்கப்போறார்களயேதோசமஷதானத துக்குலயம்வருகுர்தாயிருக்குதெனறுவெசனமாயிருக்கும்வளையிலவிசுவனாதநாயக்கர்சொறப்பனததிலதுறக்கையம்மாளவநதுஅநதமகிஷததைநீவெடடுகுறோம்யெனறுகேடடுஅநதமகிஷததைவெடடினாலொணடுதுணடமாயவிழும்யெனறுசொலலிஅநதமெளைக்கிராயர்வர்கள இடத்திக்குவிசுவனாதநாயக்கர்போயநானவெடடுகோனயெனறு உததிர்வுகேடடதிலஅப்படிக்கிததானேஉததிர்வுகுடுததுவிசுவநாதநாயக்கர்மகிஷததைவெடடினதிலகொம்பு அறறுஒருவெட்டிலொணடுதுணடமாச்சுதுராயர்வர்கள மகாசநதோஷமாயயிவளைமிகவும்கொணடாடிஅப்போது தரிச்சுயிருநதராயபூஷிணஙகள யெலலாம்இவருக்குதரிச்சுமகாவர்ப்பிறசாததினாலேபிறநதவர்ஆகச்சேநம்மைப்போலேஒருதேசததுக்குசிம்மாசனாதிபதியாய செயவிக்குறோம் யெனறுசொலலிவாக்குக்குடுததுயிருநதார்கள இப்படியிருக்கும்போதுவடக்கேஅஙகவஙககளிஙககாசமீர் னெபாள தேசததிலராசாக்களராயர்வர்களுக்குமாமூலாயக்குடுதது வநததோப்பாபணஙகுடாமல நிராகரிச்சுக்கொணடிருநததிலசறக்கார்மனுஷாளஅநத அநதசிலலாவுலேயிருநது எழுதிஅனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள அப்போது ராயர்வர்களபேரில கோபம்செய்துவிசுவனாதநாயக்கரை அவாளபேரில அனுப்பிவிச்சுஅநதராசாக்கள யெலலாரையும்செயிச்சுமாமூலப் பிறகாறம் தோப்பாகுடுக்கும்படிககுதிடடம்செய்துமருபடிராயர்வர்களஇடததுக்குவநதுயிநதவிறததாததம்சொலலிராயர்வர்கள்சநதோஷமாய்அனேகம்வெகுமானம்செய்துநிரம்பவும்பிரீதிகாமாய்வச்சுக்கொணடார்களஇப்படியிருப்பதிலதஞசநகரம்வீரசெகர சோளனம்மதுரை சநதிரசெகர பாணடியன ராச்சியததை அபகரிச்சுக் கொணடுசநதிரசெகரபணடியனராயர்வர்கள இடததுக்குவநதுபிராதுபணணிக்கொணடதில ராயர்வர்கள

sion of the country, you will then restore it to *Chandra-Segara-Pandion*." *Nagama-Naicker*, as he was ordered, conquered *Vira-Segara-Soren;* but instead of giving up the country, he retained possession of it for himself. On this intelligence reaching the *Rayer*, he sent for *Visvanatha-Naicker*, and said to him angrily, "Your father, instead of giving up the kingdom, has kept it for himself." *Visvanatha* having obtained the *Rayer's* permission, put himself at the head of the royal forces, and advanced near to Madura; and then sent word to his father to give up the kingdom to the *Pandion*, or else it would be needful to take him by the hand and lead him to the *Rayer;* yet he (*Nagama-Naicker*) did not come peaceably, but assembled an army, and came against his son to offer him battle. As *Visvanatha* was born by divine favor, he overcame and dispersed his father's forces, and took his father prisoner. On his afterwards restoring the *Pandion*, the latter, overcome with joy, said, "Your father before settled the difference between me and the *Soren* by conquering him, and now you have overcome your father on my behalf, and have given me the kingdom: what equal return shall I render to you? As my family is diminished, and I have no heir, the *Soren*, after my death, will take forcible possession of my kingdom. You therefore are my adopted son; and to you I wish the kingdom to descend after me." Saying this, he conducted him to the temple, where in the presence of *Minatchi* he had him invested by the *Pattar*, or head Bramin, with the crown, the dagger, the sceptre, the seal, and the fish-umbrella, even as if delivered to him from the hand of the goddess herself. *Visvanatha-Naicker* placed *Ariya-Natha-Muthaliar*, and also the commander of the forces, named *Kesavapa-Naicker*, with the *Pandion*, as his assistants; and then, taking his father along with him, he returned to the presence of the *Rayer*. On reporting the success of his expedition, the *Rayer* was much gratified, and said, "We forgive your father in consideration of what you have done;" adding many presents.

Some time after, intelligence arrived that the *Pandion* was deified (deceased). On the announcement being conveyed to the *Rayer*, he said (to *Visvanatha-Naicker*) "Since that *Pandion* adopted you as his son, giving you the kingdom and the seals, and also in fulfilment of my former promise to you, (the government shall be yours)." The *Rayer* had him anointed, gave him the goddess *Durga*, which had

ராகமநாயக்கரவர்வளேச்சு உனனுடையஇலாகாவிலச்சேர்நதசநதிர்செகர்பாணடிய
ணபிரா துபணணிக்கொணட தனலேநீர்போயஅநதவீர்செகர்சோளனேசெயிச்சுபாண
டியனுக்குயேதாப்பிறகா றம்ராச்சியம்வாஙகிகுடுத துவர்ச்சொலலிஉ ததிர்வுசெயதமெ
ளைக்குநாகமனயக்கர்சோளனேசெயிச்சுபாணடியனுக்குராச்சியம்வாஙகிக்குடாமலத
ம்மிடவசம்பணணிக்கொணடார்அநதசமாசார்ம்ராயர்வர்கள தெரிநதுவிசுவனதநாய
க்கரை அழைப்பிவிததுஉம்முடையதகப்பன பாணடியனுக்குராச்சியம்குடாமலதம்மிட
வசம்பணணிக்கொணடாரொனறுகோபம்பணணினதிலவிசுவனதநாயக்கர் ராயர்வர்கள
இடததிலஉததிர்வுவாஙகிக்கொணடுதம்மிடதளத துடனேமதுரைக்குசமீபமாயவநதிர
ஙகிபாணடியனுக்குராச்சியம்ஒப்பிவிச்சுவர்ச்சொலலியும்அப்படி செயயாதவரையிலஉ
ம்மைகயயுடனேகூடடிவர்ச்சொல லியும்உததிர்வாயவநதிருக்கு ரேனயெனறு எழுதி
கொணடதில அவர்சமாதானததுக்குவருமல மகனமேலேவிரோதிச்சு சணடைக்குவந
ததிலவிசுவனதநாயக்கர்வறப்பிறசாதியானபடியினலே யெதிரிதளததைபலா யினப்ப
டுததி தகப்பனரைகைய வசப்படுததிக்கொணடு பாணடியனுக்கு ராச்சியம்குடுததில
பாணடியனொம்பவும்சநதோஷப்படடுஉன தகப்பனர்சோளனேசெயிச்சுயெனபக
யைதீர் ததார்நீர்யென நிமிததியம்பிதாவை செயிச்சுராச்கியம் குடுததீர்இதறக்குபிரிதி
உபகார்ம்நானயெனனக்குடுக்கப்போரேனயெஙகளவமிசததாள சிறநிச்சுப் போனப
டியினலேயும்யெனக்குபிறக்காலாம்சநததியிலலா தனலேயும்யெனராச்சியம்சோள
னஅபகரிச்சுக்கொளவானஆன தனலேநமக்குநீர்தானபிளளை உம்முடையவமிசபார
ம்பரியமாயராச்சியபரிபாலனம்செயதுசொணடுவர்சசொலலி மீனட்சிதேவிசனிதா
னததுக்குகூடடிபோய்படடதது சமுதாடும்செஙகோலமுததிரைமசசதது வசம்அம்
மனசனனிதானததில்வயதது அம்மனகய்யினலேக்குடுக்கும் பாவினையாய்படடர்கை
யினலேவிசுவநாதனயக்கருக்கு குடுப்பிசசு அரிய்நாய்கமுதலியாரையும் தளவாய்கெச
வப்பனயக்கரையும்பாணடிய்னிடததில்நேமிசசு தகப்பனரையும்கூடடிக்கொணடுவந
துராய்ரிடததிலச்மாசார்ம்சொனனதில ராயர்ரொம்பவும்சநதோஷப்படடுஉம்மிடநி
மிததிய்ம்தகப்பனரா செய்தகுறறமடடசெமிசசோமெனறுச்கலவெகுமானமும்செய்

precedence over the royal throne, with much wealth, and invested him with the titles of Chief of the *Pandiya* country and Lord of the Southern throne, together with royal banners; and then sent him away.

On coming to Madura, he constructed seventy-two bastions to the fort; and appointed seventy-two *Palliya-carers*, corresponding with the bastions. He also caused the fort of Trichinopoly to be built. He likewise conquered the five independent princes to the south, who acknowledged no earthly superior. He reigned twenty-six years. His second in power, *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, constructed thousand-pillar'd choultries in Madura, Tinnevelley, and other places.

The son of *Visvanatha-Naicker* was *Raja-Periya-Kistnama-Naicker.*

பிரதானனும் சிருதுனாளைக்குப்பிரகுபாணடியன தெய்வீகமானானெனறுசமாசாரம்வந துராயருக்குஅரியப்பணணிவிசசதிலஅந்தபாணடியனேஉம்மைபுத்திரபாவுகமாய்செ ய்துராசசியமும் அவருடையமுததிரையளும் உமக்குகுடுதது இருக்கறபடியினாலேமு னனாலேதாம்வாக்குதததுவம்பணணினமெனாக்குபடடாபிஷேகம்பணணிராயபீட ததுக்குமுதனமையானதுறக்கிமகாலெட்சுமியுஙகுடுததுபாணடியமணடலாதிபதியெ னறும்தெட்சணசிம்மாசனாதிபதி யெனறும்பேருஙகுடுதது ராயவிருதுகளும்குடுதது அனுப்பிவிசசார். மதுரைவநதுசேர்நதுமதுரைகோடடையெழுபததிரெணடுகொத தளததுடனேகடடிவிசசுயெழுபததிரெணடுகொததளததுக்கும்யெழுபததிரெணடு பாளையகாரரைநேமிசசுதிரிசுரபுரம்கோடடைகடடிவிசசுதெட்சணததில சுவாதீனமா ய்காததிருநதபஞசதிருவடிராசாக்களையும்செயிததுராசசியம்ஆணடதுவருஷம்- ௨௰ ௬-அவர்அதிகாரி அரியநாயகமுதலியார்மதுரைதிருனலவெலிமுதலாகியஷதலஙகளுக் கெலலாம்ஆயிரக்காலமணடபம்கடடிவிசசார்அவர்குமாரர்ராஜாபெரியகிஷணப்பனா யக்கர்.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec 3.

As the name and influence of *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* appear so very conspicuous in this and following sections, we shall here insert two others of the *Mirtanjeya* Manuscripts: of which, one relates wholly to him, and the other principally so, though in part adverting to other matters, and carrying forward the Carnataca line of princes to a more advanced period. It will hence appear that the part taken by *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* in the change of the royal dynasty was not a trifling one; but any conjectures founded on these indications may for the present be spared. A summary retrospect may be entered on afterwards. The two manuscripts alluded to will now follow.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF *ARIYA-NATHA-MUTHALIAR.*

If the greatness of *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* be inquired into, it must be replied, that it was boundless; and that many, even kings, have not been equal to him. Tradition has handed down the following things concerning him.

When *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* was twelve years old, one named *Nambiyan*, who was performing *pujei* to *Pulliar* (Ganesa), saw a cobra-capella defending him by the shadow of its head from the sun's rays while he was sleeping; and going to him, took him by the hand, saluted him respectfully, carried him home, gave him food; then received from him a written document,* and advised him to proceed to the north. As soon as he had gone thither, and was connected with the suite of *Panja-Muthali*, elder brother of *Nagama-Naicker's* agent, the *Rayer* gave to the said *Muthali* a royal palanquin.† *Nagama-Naicker* introduced *Ariya-nathen* to the presence of the king, when two circumstances of propitious result occurred: the one was his explanation of the almanac and astrology, and the other, his pointing out the means whereby the buffalo's head might be struck off at one blow. In consequence of the *Rayer's* approbation hence accruing, *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* was numbered among the ministers of state, and placed at their head. He then had a plough and an ox-goad made, both of gold, and sent them as a present to his elder sister. And on occasion of his own marriage, in the presence of the *Rayer*, he expended ten lacs of gold rupees, fed forty thousand of his relatives, including both those grown up and children; and he provided the marriage expenses of a great number of his relatives, at various places, on their return towards their homes.

Subsequently he procured an interview of the *Pandiya-raja* with the *Rayer;* he assembled the various chiefs, or commanders of forces; and, taking *Visvanatha-*

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* Verbal tradition says, that the Bramin *Nambiyan* foretold to the youth that he would become wealthy, powerful, and illustrious; and on the young man objecting that he was merely a husbandman, the Bramin reassured him; and to shew his own confidence in the prediction, took from him a written engagement that when his prosperity should happen he would give half of his acquirements to the said Bramin.

† The writer intends to intimate that this magnificent and rare donation came to the *Muthali* through the propitious influences attending on *Ariya-nathen*.

அரியநாயகமுதலியார்வர்களபெருமையைவிசாரிக்கும்போதுஅளவில்லைஅனேக
ராசாக்களிருநதபேர்களுக்குமில்லைஅதுளப்படியானாலமுனனோர்களபெரியவாளசொ
லலக்கேள்விபடடதுஅரியநாயகமுதலியாருக்குபனிரணடுவயதிலநலலபாம்புசூரியகிற
ணம்முகததிலேபடாமலபடததினாலே கொடைபிடிதததை பிளளையாரை பூசைபண
ணுகுறநம்பியார்கணடுகூடடிப்போயிஉபசாறம்பணணி விருநதுபணணிவிச்சுகையெ
ழுததுவாஙகிகொணடுவடக்கேபோகசொலலிநம்பியார்சொலபடிக்குராசமானியரா
ஸ்ரீராயர்வர்களகொடடியமவிசாறணைநாகமனாயக்கர்வர்கள கிடடவிசாறணைமுதலியார்
வர்களதமையனபஞசமுதலியார்வர்களகிடடப்போனவுடனேதமையனுக்குராயர்பல
லக்குகுடுததார்அப்படிஇருக்குமிடததிலநாகமனாயக்கர்முனனுக்கு ராயர்வர்களபேட
டியாயிபஞசாஙகம்சொதிஷம்சொனனது-க- துறகைஅம்மனுக்கு காடடெருமைக்கி
டாவெடடுகுறதறகுஒருவெடடுலேவெடடும்படியாயிஉபாயம்சொனனது-க-இநதொ
ணடியுகுததியிலேராயர்பாததுநம்முடவாசலமநதிரியளுக்கெலலாம் முதலமையென
றுசகலவெகுமதியுஙகுடுததுஇருக்கும்போதுதமக்கையாருக்குபொனனாலேளையும்
பொனனாலேதார்கொம்பும்கொடுத்தனுப்பிவிச்சு வெகுவாயிப்பததுலட்சம்மொகரு
சிலபணணி-௬௰அது-ம்பேர்உறவினமுறையார்குஞசுகுளநதையளுடனேபோசனம்
பணணிவிச்சுவநதபேருக்கெலலாம்வஸ்தரமும்ஆவறணஙகுடுததுஇநதபடிக்குராயர்வ
ர்களமுனனுக்கு தமக்குகலியாணம்நடநதபினபுதம்முடஉறவினமுறையார்வளியிலே
அனேகம்பேருக்கும்கலியாணம் பணணிவிச்சார்மதுரைப்பாணடியராசாவுக்கு ராயர்
பேடடிபணணிவிச்சுபாளையப்படடெலலாம் கூடடபாளையம்சேகரமாயிதளததுடனே
முதலியார்வர்களவிசுவனாதனாயக்கரையும்கூடடிகொணடுவநது பாணடியதேசததிலே
இருநதசலவியமெலலாம்தீததுபாணடியராசாவுக்குபடடஙகடடிவிட்சுவிசுவனாதனாயக்
கருக்குகோடடைக்கடடளையாயிநேமுகனாசெயிதுவெகுதிரவியம்அனுப்பிவிச்சு பெரி
யபாளையததுடனேமதுரையிலேஇருக்கும்போதுவடக்கேஇருநதுவெகுசேனைதளத
துடனேதுலுக்கர் மிருடடியர்வநதுராயர்பேரிலே வெகுசணடைபணணுகுறபோது
மதுரையிலே இருந்துமுதலியாரும்வெகுதளததுடனெ போயிசணடைபணணுகுற
போது அநதயுத்தத்திலேராயர்முடிநதுபோகுறவேளையிலே ராயர்அஷிதாட்சிஎழுதி

Naicker with him, came to the *Pandion* country; and having there rectified all existing disorders, he caused the *Pandion* king to be crowned, and instructed him to prepare and send to *Visvanatha*, as an acknowledgment for the crown, a large sum of money, made up in parcels, the contents not being counted; while he himself remained at Madura with a large army. But when the Mahomedans and Mahrattas had invaded the *Rayer's* dominions, he proceeded thither from Madura, with a great force; and when the *Rayer* fell in the midst of the battle, the *Rayer* wrote and gave him a bequest, to the effect, that after his decease the *Muthaliar* should be accounted as his adopted son; and, giving up the country to him, bid him conquer the invading army. In obedience to this command, having paid homage to *Durga*, by her approval and aid he overcame the Mahomedans and Mahrattas; and then expressing his desire to assume the crown to his relatives and other friends, they advised him not to do so. He therefore divided the *Rayer's* dominions among the three following persons: that is, *Visvanatha-Naicker*, the son of *Cottiya-Nagama-Naicker; Vira-ragava-Mapali-Naicker*, of Tanjore; and the ruler of *Srirangham* (Seringapatam), of the Mysore country. He retained the office of commander-in-chief of the forces of all three of these kingdoms. He built many *Saiva* and *Vaishnava* temples, *Rayer*-towers, and pillar'd choultries; and caused many repairs of sacred places to be made. In the ceremony of anointing (the image) in the night of *Siva*, he expended twelve thousand gold rupees. Afterwards he built walls and fortifications at *Tirisira-puram* (Trichinopoly), at Madura, at Tanjore, at Seringapatam, and at *Raya-vellur*, (in the north,) and at Palamcottah; as also at other places. He established two thousand of his relatives, at the villages of *Sora-kulantaren, Nageri, Tirumangalam, Putta-neri*, and other places: building them houses, and giving them lands for cultivation. He also gave countries to seventy-two *Palliya-carers*. He besides appointed villages to remit *hundis* (or bills of exchange) to *Casi* (Benares), for the purpose of daily feeding there one thousand Bramins, in the name of the before-mentioned officiating priest of *Pulliar's* temple, named *Nambiyan*.

Thus he caused many charitable acts to be performed; and was very illustrious for his bravery and skill in combat. Agreeably to this description an equestrian statue may be seen, as cut out in the thousand-pillar'd choultry, and also in the new choultry (of *Trimal-Naig*, at Madura).

கொடுததது நமக்குபிறகாலம்நமக்குபிளளைநீயெனறுசொலலி சீமையைஒப்புகொடுத
துவநதபாளையததைசெயிக்கசொலலிவாக்குகொடுததபடிக்கு துரகைபூசைபணணிஅ
வன்கிருபையினாலேதுலுக்கர்மிருடடியர்பாளையததைசெயம்பணணிராயர்படடம்தா
ம்கடடிகொளளவேணுமெனறு தம்முடஉறவினமுறையார் பெரியமனுஷாளை கேளக்
கும்போதுஅப்படிக்குஉமக்குபடடம்வேணடாமெனறு சொலலிவிடடார்களஅதெ
மெனாக்குராயர்சமஸ்தானம்சீமையைகொடடியமநாகமனாயக்கர்குமாரனவிசுவநா
தநாயக்கருக்குஒருபஙகும்தஞ்சாவூர்வீரராகவமாப்பிளளைனாயகருக்கும்சீரஙகபடடணம்
மயிசூர்சீமைகறதருக்கும்இப்படிக்குபடடஙகடடிவிச்சுமுதலியாரவர்கள்இநதமூனறு
சமஷதானததுக்கும்மேலாகதளகறதம் சேனாதிபதியாகஇருநதுகொணடுஅனேகம்சி
வஸதலம்விஷ்ணுஸதலம்தோறும்ராயர்கோபுரமும்ஆயிரக்காலமணடபமும்அனேக
ம்திருப்பணியும்சிவராததிரிபனனீராயிரம்மொகருசிலவுபணணி அபிஷேகக்கடடளை
யளும்செயிவிச்சு அப்பால திரிசிறபுரம்கோடடை மதுரைகோடடைதஞசாவூர்கோட
டைசீரஙகபடடணம்கோடடைராயவேலூர்கோடடைபாளையம்கோடடை முதலாகிய
கெடிஸதலஙகளிலகோடடையளும்கடடிவைததுதஙகளஉறவினமுறையாருக்குசோழ
குலாநதானநகரிதிருமஙகலம்புததனேரிமுதலாகியகிருமஙகளிலொணடாயிரம்குடும்ப
ததுடனேஇருக்கவீடுவாசலவிபசாயததுடனே இருக்கச்சொலலிவிடடுகுடுதது - ௭௰௨
ப்பாளையபடடுக்கும்சீமைவிடடுகுடுததுமுனபிளளையார்பூசைபணணுகுறநம்பியாருக்
குகாசியிலேநிததியப்படிக்குபிருமணாளுக்குசகசிறபோசனம்நடக்கும்படியாயிஉணடி
யளும்கிருமஙகளும்விடடுகுடுததார்இப்படிக்குஅனேகம்புணணியஙகளைபணணிவிச்சு
வெகுசவுரியபறாக்கிறமஙகளுடனேகீறததிசாலியாகஇருநதார்எப்போதும்இப்படிப்ப
டடஅரியநாயகமுதலியாரைகுதிரையினபேரிலஆயிர்காலமணடபததுதூணிலேயும்பு
துமணடபததுதூணிலேயும்செயிதிருக்குறதைப்பாததுகொளளதெரியலாகும்.

THE ROYAL LINE OF THE CARNATACA PRINCES.

Sometime after the year of *Salivahana* 1400, in the *Kaliyutti* year, in *Panguni* month, the 15th day, *Cottiyam-Nagama-Naicker* having entered the Madura kingdom, he placed a fortified camp to the south of the town of *Tirumangalam*, and to the south of the *Camandala-manda* river, and remained there some time. Afterwards having come to the town called *Cayatatur*, on the 15th day of *Kartiki* month, and *Ravuttiri* year, on the first approach to Cayatatur of *Visvanatha-Naicker* and *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, accompanied by an army, *Kistnama-Naicker* * died. The matters which were in consequence needful to be done, were accomplished by *Visva-natha-Naicker* and *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, in conjunction; when they returned to Madura.

In S.S. 1482, on the 11th of *Margali* month, and *Ravuttiri* year, on a propitious day, *Visvanatha-Naicker* was anointed and crowned, in the presence of the goddess *Minatchi;* and *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* was appointed to the station and authority of principal minister and commander of the forces, and he assumed the two seal rings of both offices. While discharging the duties of both these responsible stations, the extent of country acquired was from *Utatur* and *Valikondapuram,*† on the north, even to *Caniya-Cumari* (Cape Comorin) on the south; to *Coyambutur*, *Irodu*, *Taraburam*, and *Mele-Mali*, on the west; to Ramiseram, and the sea, on the east.

While the *Maha-raja, Visvanatha-Naicker*, was holding the sceptre in Madura, he caused his son, *Cumara-Kistnapa-Naicker*, to be anointed, on the 11th day of *Tai* month, in *Rudirotkari* year. During the reign of this prince, in the *Acheya* year, *Ariya-nayaga-Muthaliar* called some of his relatives from *Peru-nadu*, in the *Kanchi* district of the *Tondamandalam*, and constructed for them a fort, at a place called *Sora-vantan*, in which he built three hundred houses, and gave to them: he also

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* What person is intended is not known.

† More commonly spelt Ootatoor and Wolconda: the former is a town, thirty miles north of Trichinopoly; and the latter, a fort and pettah, about five miles from Toloor, on the bank of the *Vellar* river.

கறஞடகநாயக்கமார்படடஞசாலிவாகனசகாறதம்-௲சா-க்குமேலசெலலாநின
றகாலயுததி - ௵பைஙகுனி௴௰௫௨ -கொட்டியமநாகமநாயக்கர்வர்களும்மதுரைக்
குவநதுதிருமஙகலததுக்குத தெறகுக்கமணடல மணடநதிக்குததெறக்கேகோட்டை
போட்டுச்சிறுதுநாளிருநது அதனபேரிறகயததாறறுக்குவநதிருக்கிறபோதுர்வுததி
ரி - ௵சார்ததிகை௴௰௫௨ - விசுவநாதநாயக்கர்வர்களும்அரியநாயகமுதலியார்வர்க
ளுநதளசமெதமாக்க்கயததாறறிலவநதிறஙகினமாததிர்ததிலகிஷ்ணமநாயக்கர்அஞயா
சமாண்மாய்ச்சிவலோகப்பிருத்தியமானர்அதறகுநடக்கவேண்டியஅமாக்கிறிகைகள்வி
சுவநாதநாயக்கர்அவர்களும்அரியநாயகமுதலியார்அவர்களும்கூடஇருநதுசகலமு மு
கிப்பிச்சுத்திரும்பமதுரைக்குவநதுசாலிவாகனசகாறதம் - ௲சாஅ௰௨ - க்குமேறசெல
லாநினறர்வுததிரி-௵மார்கழி௴௰௧௨-சுதினததிலமீஞட்சியம்மாளசனனிதானததில
விசுவநாதயக்கர்வர்களுக்குப்பட்டாபிஷேகஞசெயவிச்சுததழகறதப்பிறதானிக்கம்இர
ணடுஅதிகார்மும்அரியநாயகமுதலியார்வர்களுக்குக்குடுத்துஉபயமோதிர்முநதரித்துக்
கொண்டுதழகறதப்பிறதானிக்கம்பணணுகிறநாளையிலவடக்கேஉளட்டதுர்வாலிகொ
ணடாபுர்மும்தெறகே கனனிமாகுமரிவரைக்கும்மேறகே கொயம்புததுர்யீரோடுதா
ராபுர்மேலே மலைமுதறகிளக்கே இராமேசுர்ம்கீளகடலவரைக்குஞ சீமைகட்டிமதுரை
யி லிருநது-மகாராசமானியராஸ்ரீ-விசுவநாதநாயக்கர்வர்களசெஙகோலசெலுததுகிற
நாளையிலஅவர்களபுததிர்னகுமாறகிஷ்ணமநாயக்கர்வர்களுக்கு மதுரையில ருததிரோ
காறி - ௵தை௴௰௧௨ - படடாபிஷேகஞசெயதுராச்சியபார்ம்வகிக்கிறகாலததிலேஅ
டசெய-௵- ர்ாசமானியராஸ்ரீஅரியநாயகமுதலியார்வர்களதொணடைமணடலமகா
ஞசிபுாஞசீமையிலேயிருநதபெருநாடடிலஉறவினமுறையாரிறசிறுதுபெணவர்வளை
ததுசசொழவநதானிலெபாடடியாளுககுந தனசாவிலெகொடடைபொடடுககொடு
ததுஅதிலமுனனூறுவீடுஙகடடிககொடுதது அதிறகாஞசிபுாஙகுருககளயயா அவாகளை
யுமவாவளைததுமடாலையமுஙகட்டிககொடுததுஅதிலிருநதுபூசைநெயவெகதியஙகொ
ணடருளசசொலவிததொணடைமணடலததிலிருநதுவநதஉறவினமுறையாருககுமன
வறஞெழிலசெயவதறகுவெளளாணபிளளை வீரகுட்டியானமுதலபெருஙகொலலன

called thither the *guru* of *Kanchi-puram,* and constructed for him a temple and dwelling; giving him instructions to perform the rites of worship, and present the usual offerings (of fruits, &c.) In order to perform the needful services to his relatives from *Tondamandalam,* he placed *Vellan-pillay, Vira-Kuttiyal, Peran-Kollen, Tachen,* and, under these, eighteen other laborers in their different trades; together with *Pariars* for free-hired work, and other *Pariars* who were slaves. Having appointed these people to their several occupations, he recommended his relations to live and prosper; and thus those who came from *Peru-nadu* lived in the place called *Sora-vantan.*

Down to the 19th day of *Kartiki* month of *Angila* year, (*Cumara-Kistnama-Naicker*) held the government; and from the 20th of the same month and year, down to *Avani* month of *Manmatha* year, being twenty-two years and nine months, his son *Virapa-Naicker* reigned. From *Peratasi* month of *Manmatha* year, down to *Vyasi* month of *Pilava* year, or five years and nine months, *Cumara-Kistnama-Naicker* (reigned). On the 7th day of *Sittari* month of *Sarvari* year, *Ariya-nayaga-Muthaliar* delivered up both seal rings to his lord, and obtained the world of *Siva;* (that is, died). *Ariya-nayaga-Muthaliar* held the united offices of minister and generalissimo during four reigns, or thirty-eight years and nine months. From *Avani* month of *Pelavi* year, down to *Tai* month of *Dundami* year, or twenty-one years and eight months, *Mutthu-virapa-Naicker* reigned. From the 7th of *Masi* month of *Dundami* year, to the 4th of *Masi* month of *Velambi* year, or thirty-six years, *Tirumali-Naicker* reigned. In this time the office of generalissimo was held by *Ramayer.* From the fifth day of *Masi* of *Velamba* year, down to *Vyasi* month of *Vigari* year, or four months, *Mutthu-virapa-Naicker* reigned. From *Ani* month of *Vigari* year, down to *Ani* month of *Dundami* year, or twenty-three years and two months, the adopted son, *Choka-natha-Naicker,* reigned. In his reign *Chinna-tambi-Muthaliar* was generalissimo for seven years. After that time Bramins held the office. From *Adi* month of *Dundami* year, down to *Sukila* year, or eight years, *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-virapa-Naicker* reigned. From *Pramotutha* year down to *Vicrama* year, or nineteen years, *Vijia-Ranga-Chokapa-Naicker* being a minor, *Mangamal* ruled: from *Visva* year down to *Virothikirathi* year, the third of *Masi* month, is thirty-one years. Down to that time is the period of the Carnataca line of princes.

றசசணஉளபடடபபதி னெடடுத தொழிலாளிகளையுஙகையிநீடடுபபறையன கயிவிலைபப
றையனையும்பிறததேசமாய்க்கொணடுவநதுவைததுச்சுப சீவனஙகளாகச்செய்விச்சுக்
கொணடிருக்கச்சொலவிச்சொழவநதானிலேபெருநாடடுறவினமுறையாரிப்படிக்கு
டிததனமாகவாழநதுவருகிறநாளையிலஆஙகில - ௵ கார்ததிகை௴ ௰௯௳ - வரைக்கும்
பட்டஞசெலுததிஆஙகில - ௵ கார்ததிகை௴ ௨௰௳ - முதலமனமத - ௵ ஆவணி௴
வரைக்கும் - ௵ ௨௰௨௴ ௯ - க்குமேலஅவர்களகுமாரன வீரபபநாயக்கர்வர்களபடட
மனமத - ௵ புரடடாசி௴ - முதறபிலவ - ௵ வைகாசி௴ - வரைக்கும் - ௵ ௫௴ ௯ - க்
குமேலக்குமாரகிஷ்ணமநாயக்கர்வர்கள சாறுவதாரி - ௵ சிததிரை௴ ௭௳ - அரியநாய
கமுதலியார்வர்களஉபயமோதிர்மிர்ணடுஙகறததாக்களகையிற கொடுததுப்போட்டுச்
சிவலோகப் பிறுததியாஞர்கள அரியநாயகமுதலியார்வர்களதழகறதம் பிறதானிக்கஞ
செயவிச்சுப்பட்டம்நாலுக்கு - ௵ ௩௰௮௴ ௯ - பிலவ - ௵ ஆனி௴ - முதலததுநதிபி
௵ தை௴ - வரைக்கும் - ௵ ௨௰௧௴ ௮ - க்குமுததுவீரப்பநாயக்கர்வர்களுக்குப்பட்
டம் துநதிபி - ௵ மாசி௴ ௭௳ - முதலவிளம்பி - ௵ மாசி௴ ௪௳ - வரைக்கும் - ௵ ௩௰
௯ - திருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்களப்பட்டம்இக்காலததிற்றழகறதப்பிறதானிக்கம்ராமய்யனவ
ர்களவிளம்பி - ௵ மாசி௴ ௫௳ - முதலவிகாரி - ௵ வைகாசி௴ - வரைக்கும் - ௴ ௪ - க்கு
முததுவீரப்பநாயக்கர்வர்களபட்டம்விகாரி - ௵ ஆனி௴ - முதல துநதிபி - ௵ ஆனி௴
வரைக்கும் - ௵ ௨௰௩௴ ௨ - க்குதெததுப்புததிரனசொக்கநாதநாயக்கர்வர்களபட்ட
ம்இதிலஎழு - ௵ - சினனதம்பிமுதலியார்வர்களதழகறதப்பிறதானிக்கம்செயதார்கள
அப்பாறபிராமணுளதழகறதப்பிறதானிக்கம் துநதிபி - ௵ ஆடி௴ - முதலச்சுக்கில - ௵
வரையும் - ௵ ௮ - ரெஙககிஷ்ணமுததுவீரப்பநாயகர்வர்களபட்டம்பிறமதூத - ௵ - மு
தலவிக்கிறம - ௵ - வரையும் - ௵ ௰௯ - க்குவிசையரெஙகசொக்கப்பநாயக்கர்வர்களவா
விபமானதாலமஙகம்மாளபட்டம்விசுவவருடமுதலவிரெதிகிறுது - ௵ மாசி௴ ௩௳
வரையும் - ௵ ௩௰௧ - அதுவரையிறகறஞடகபட்டம்சரி.

As in the foregoing MSS. and in the principal ones also, so frequent reference is made to the names of months and years, according to the native mode of reckoning, it may not be amiss, for the sake of distant readers, to give the order and explanation of both. And first, the native months.

Tai . . .	From the	12th of January	to the	11th of February.
Masi . . .	"	12th of February	"	11th of March.
Panguni .	"	12th of March	"	11th of April.
Sittari . .	"	12th of April	"	12th of May.
Vyasi . .	"	13th of May	"	12th of June.
Ani . . .	"	13th of June	"	14th of July.
Adi . . .	"	15th of July	"	14th of August.
Avani . .	"	15th of August	"	14th of September.
Peratasi .	"	15th of September	"	15th of October.
Arapisi . .	"	16th of October	"	14th of November.
Kartikiya .	"	15th of November	"	13th of December.
Margali .	"	14th of December	"	11th of January.

Secondly, the native years. These are reckoned in a cycle of sixty; as follows.

1 Pirapava	21 Saruvasidhu	41 Pilavanga
2 Ibava	22 Saruvatari	42 Kilâka
3 Sukili	23 Virothi	43 Savumiya
4 Pramotutha	24 Vikurathi	44 Satarana
5 Prasorpathi	25 Kara	45 Virothikiruthu
6 Angirasa	26 Nandana	46 Paritabi
7 Strimuga	27 Vijia	47 Pramaticha
8 Bava	28 Saya	48 Ananta
9 Iva	29 Manmatha	49 Racshatha
10 Dathu	30 Dunmuki	50 Nala
11 Isura	31 Yevilambi	51 Pingala
12 Vegudaniya	32 Vilambi	52 Kalayudhi
13 Pramathi	33 Vigari	53 Sittaradhi
14 Vikirama	34 Sarvari	54 Rayuttiri
15 Visu	35 Pilava	55 Dunmathi
16 Sitteraibanu	36 Subakiruthu	56 Dundumi
17 Subanu	37 Sobakiruthu	57 Rudirotkari
18 Daruna	38 Kurothi	58 Radhiraksha
19 Partiva	39 Visuvavisu	59 Krothana
20 Vijia	40 Parapava	60 Acheya.

Of the present cycle, the first year, or *Pirabava*, was A.D. 1807. The present year, 1835, answers to *Manmatha*, which began on the 12th of April; and thence to April of the following year, answers to *Salivahana Sagartam* 1758. Thus, the year of the Christian era being given, to find the S.S. year deduct 77 after the middle of April, or beginning of *Sittari* month,

and 78 from the beginning of *Tai* month, or middle of January, up to the middle of April. The S.S. year being given, add 78 from the beginning of *Tai*, or middle of January, up to the middle of April, and 77 thence to January of the following year. In general we have been content with simply adding 78 to the S.S. year; but as the doing so may sometimes occasion an error of a few months, the reader will hereby be enabled to make the correction, in any case where severe accuracy may be required.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 4, 5.

We may now take a general retrospect of the foundation of this new dynasty. We must previously repeat the observation that the date given in section 5, of S.S. 1354, as that when the bastions of the fort were built, is wrong. It has been seen that this is the same date assigned to the conquest of the country by *Nagama-Naicker*, subject to the correction of writing S.S. 1454 in place of S.S. 1354, and corresponding with A.D. 1532. And though the year of the *Cali-yugam* 4533 agrees, according to the customary reckoning,* with S.S. 1354, yet that date we presume may have been guided by the other one. From the third of the minor manuscripts just given, the conquest by *Nagama-Naicker* is put "some time after S. S. 1400;" consequently, the latitude of expression will permit the extension of the date to S. S. 1454. The instalment of *Visvanatha-Naicker* is fixed at S. S. 1482, A.D. 1559; differing only a year, or perhaps a few months, from the date assigned to the same event in the Pandion Chronicle. To fix this instalment at S. S. 1481—2, seems to be accurate; but as the dates so minutely given in the Carnataca Dynasty do not accord therewith, it may be best to leave the question of dates alone for some time, until we descend to a more recent period, and can bring others from the Pandion Chronicle, or more recently still, from known public events, fixed as to times of occurrence, by other authorities; by which intermediate aid we may re-ascend to a final adjustment of this particular.

From Mr. Campbell's list of the *Rayer* dynasty, *(Royaloo,* by the way, being the same in meaning, in Telugu, as *Rayer* in Tamil,) it appears that *Krishna-Rayer* ruled twenty-one years, from S. S. 1430 to 1452 (A. D. 1509 to 1530); *Achyuta-deva* twelve years, from S. S. 1452 to 1464 (A.D. 1530 to 1542). There then succeeds an interval of usurped powers on the part of *Timma-raja* and *Rama-raja*, though *Sadasiva* is nominally king for twenty-two years, from S. S. 1464 to S. S. 1486 (A. D. 1542 to 1564). At this last date the fatal battle of Tellicotta took place, in which *Rama-raja* was slain. An interval of five years of Mahomedan plunder and desolation occurred, after which (S. S. 1491, A. D. 1569) *Trimala-Rayer* re-established some remnant of the past empire, at the fortified position of *Penu-Konda*, beyond which time, for the present, we need not descend. With the above dates the two lists given by Mr. Wilson † very accurately correspond; the only variation being, that one list puts the five years of disorder into the reign of *Sadasiva*, and the other into that of *Trimala-Rayer;*

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* Beschi's Tamil Grammar, Chap. 5, p. 186. † Des. Cata. p. 292—3.

neither of the lists mentioning *Rama-raja*, who was properly only minister; but who, by his haughtiness and ambition, involved the kingdom in his own destruction.

Now, from the foregoing dates, it will appear probable (as before inferred) that *Nagama-Naicker* received his orders to support *Chandra-Segara-Pandion* from *Krishna-Rayer;* that he had effected the conquest in two or three years after; but that, availing himself of the unsettled state of things at *Vijianagaram*, during the earlier years ascribed to *Achyuta-deva*, when *Timma-raja's* influence, as minister, was predominant, he took measures to confirm himself in the independent sovereignty of Madura; that *Achyuta-deva*, having himself taken the reins in hand, despatched *Visvanatha* on the expedition against his father; that *Chandra-Segara-Pandion* ruled as a tributary for some little time, supported by the northern army, with *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* at their head; that, his death occurring, *Visvanatha-Naicker* was installed by *Sadasiva*, by virtue of the Pandion's asserted adoption, and the promised protection of two former *Rayers;* that he actually entered on his government about six years previous to the battle of Tellicotta; that the combination of Mahomedan princes, ending in that disaster, summoned *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, with his army, to the support of the *Rayer's* throne; that *Rama-raja* fell in the battle, when the bequest mentioned in the second of the preceding *Mirtanjeya* MSS. might indeed have been made, but it is more probably invention; and that then *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* returned with the collected remnant of his forces to *Visvanatha-Naicker*, who now, by the train of circumstances, became an independent prince, as he also proved himself to be an able and beneficent one. *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* might have had some influence over Mysore and Tanjore as asserted: it is not impossible, though it seems improbable, that he could have been military commander-in-chief to all three states. The new dynasty in Mysore, founded by *Vijeya* and *Krishna* from *Vijianagaram*, was however then begun, and as they might have known *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* at the capital, so they might afterwards have profited from his aid or advice. The threatening power of the Mahomedans may also have awed the divisions between the Madura and Tanjore kingdoms into concord; but the two powers were no longer in anywise equal; and it is probable that peace, by the king of Tanjore, could only be purchased by sacrifices, of which the cession of Trichinopoly in lieu of a place comparatively insignificant is perhaps a sufficient example.

Throughout the whole narrative, as regards *Visvanatha-Naicker*, it is hardly possible to fail of remarking, that he is pourtrayed uniformly as a talented, brave, and benevolent man. The, at first sight, very doubtful proceeding of offering his services to the *Rayer* against his own father, on a little closer inspection will appear in a different light. For since some one must undertake the duty, no one could perform it with so much tenderness, and with so many precautions as the son; and whereas a stranger would have been reckless of the life of *Nagama-Naicker*, and a rival or enemy would have sought its extinction on the field of combat, his son could, and no doubt did, take such measures as would in a manner ensure its safety. The carefully keeping his father under guard for some time, until the *Rayer's* anger should abate, marks a like wise precaution.

The second of the *Mirtanjeya* MSS. would appear to intimate that *Ariya-natha-*

Muthaliar, owing to his education by a Bramin, was in repute with the court of *Vijianagaram* as an astrologer; and that he devised the plan as regards killing the buffalo, which superstition rendered necessary, and of which *Visvanatha* was chosen to be the instrument: the asserted appearance of the goddess in a vision being only machinery, invented to work upon the superstition of the populace. If so, the close alliance between the future king and his minister-general, and the great power of the latter, is accounted for; although the extensive authority confided to him might have been partly in imitation of the fashion which had prevailed at *Vijianagaram*, but with very different results, owing to the difference of mental ability, and other qualifications, between *Sadasiva* and *Visvanatha*. The works undertaken at Trichinopoly and its neighbourhood shew a princely liberality; and a considerable measure of wisdom also, so far as regards fortifications, irrigation, and building of villages for cultivators. It must be remembered that great numbers of emigrants, from the scene of Mahomedan plunder and devastation, were to be provided for; and their descendants in the Madura country still speak the Telugu language. In the romantic engagement with the five independent chiefs of Tinnevelley, (if the same be not fiction,) the like unity of character is observable in *Visvanatha*. We suppose them to have been some of the eighteen chiefs who had by this time divided the ancient *Sera-desam* among them. In this case, the conquest seems to have proved subsequently beneficial to the inhabitants, by an extension of the liberal policy to the banks of the *Tembaraveni* which had lately been exerted on those of the Cauvery. In the division of the country into feudal chieftainships, wherein the minor MSS. make it probable that the advice of *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* was followed, there may be a doubt as to the wisdom of the policy; and the enlargement of the fort of Madura was, we should say, to weaken instead of strengthening it. A hill-fort on the rock five miles S. W., as already observed,* would have been more to the purpose. It appears that *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* long survived his master: both seem to have merited no ordinary praise. Always excepting (in our own judgment) the patronage of temples, shrines, and Bramins, wherein those two remarkable individuals must be judged by the opinions of the times and places which they lived in; we, for the rest, hardly know any instance, from native history, of character so well and so uniformly sustained; or of two personages, each able, acting together with one design, with popular benefit, and with extraordinary credit and success to themselves.

If we revert for a moment to the *Rayers*, it is not to find there, especially in the contemporaneous period, any thing equal or similar. *Krishna-Rayer* was, in his day, illustrious; and his name seems to be popularly the best remembered. He was a great conqueror—a

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* See vol. 1, p. 169. And we are glad of an opportunity, in passing, to remark, that the name of Colonel Wilks was there inserted through inadvertency for Colonel Welsh; it being in the amusing, but not always trust-worthy reminiscences of the latter gentleman that the statement is found. His story of royal tigers on *Secander-mali*, and of hunting them, when they were so stupid as only to shew their heads now and then to servants merely, dreading a rifle by instinct, is most facetious certainly; we would, if possible, add veracious. The sketch given of the fort and palace of Madura is extremely incorrect; and must have been drawn on the voyage home, or elsewhere, from memory. There are other sketches in the book which we should think are more carefully done.

patron of learning—but withal, we believe, of dissolute morals. His conquests were chiefly over native princes, chiefly south of the Toomboodra, and, at the utmost, of the *Krishna* river. The asserted supremacy over the Cashmere and Nepaul countries, we should conjecture to be somewhat hyperbolical; although, in all probability, some ascendancy did exist over the Cuttack country. But from the *Krishna* to the Cauvery we should suppose him to have had tributaries, or subjects, among the aboriginal natives; and these northern and southern boundaries present a magnificent extent of domain. The princes of the *Kuruba* line were in all probability careful, plodding, and prudent men, who were content, after the first establishment of power and dominion, with slow but solid acquisitions. *Krishna-Rayer*, as the second of the *Narasinha* family, brought with him what may be termed plebeian blood, together with the vigour and energy which usually mark the outset of a new dynasty so founded, on the ruins of an old one, wherein indolence and pride of descent have produced feebleness and degeneracy. *Krishna-Rayer* seems to have aimed at splendor. He built the large tower* of the pagoda at Conjeveram; and the like model of these lofty towers elsewhere introduced, procured for them, as we shall see, the designation of *Rayer-gobaram*, or a tower after the *Rayer's* fashion; that is, a large and lofty tower. From the *Cathamanchari* (a college printed book) we learn that his chief minister was named *Appaji;* and to this *Appaji* is therein attributed the credit of detecting the *Padshah* of Delhi, when purposely disguised, from the midst of his ministers, and notwithstanding a mock king being on the throne; because *Appaji*, at his first entry, saw that no one regarded the puppet king, while every eye was directed to the real one, though appearing only as a common person amidst the crowd of courtiers. This anecdote has been related of the ambassador of another country: we know not to whom it may really belong. From the same authority we find that *Krishna-Rayer* maintained a court-jester, named *Tennal-Rama-Kistna;* some of whose coarse and practical jokes† are handed down (authentic we pre-

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* Campbell's Telugu Grammar, Intro. p. xii.

† The following, as one of the least exceptionable, may serve as a specimen.—The mother of a *Rayer* who ruled in former years, at the time of her death, expressed a strong wish for a mango-fruit; but before the *Rayer* could cause it to be brought and given to her she died. After waiting a few days, he ordered the Bramins to be summoned, and inquired of them what was to be done in the case of any one who died while longing for a mango-fruit. They replied, that if he caused a thousand mangos of gold, each one weighing a hundred *palams* (a *palam* is one ounce and a half) to be made, and if he gave these to a thousand Bramins, then that longing appetite would be removed from the departed soul. The *Rayer* caused the same to be done, and bathed on the day of her death. Thereupon the *Rayer's* jester, named *Rama-Kistna*, said to all the Bramins, "I am waiting to do you some small service, you must condescend to me;" and with this request he called them to his house. When some among them went, he carefully closed the door, and immediately on causing them to be seated in order, he took a branding iron, that had been heating in the fire on the hearth, and bringing it, said, "My respected mother, before she died, said, that if she were branded with a hot iron she would live; but before this could be done she attained the heavenly world. In consequence, in order to give her satisfaction, you must be pleased, with a cool mind, to receive it in her stead;" and saying so he cauterized some of them. Being greatly frightened, they all made their escape, and carried their complaint to the *Rayer*. He called for *Rama-Kistna*, and said to him angrily, "Knave! what hast thou done?" He replied, "When my lord's mother died, what she wished for was given to them—in like manner, what my mother desired, in order to satisfy her, I gave to them." The *Rayer*, ashamed, remained silent.

Cathamanchari—Art. 31.

It is understood that a Tamil printed work is in circulation, entitled *Tennal-Rama-Kistna-Sarittaram;* but it has not been seen by the editor.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

sume) with more care than the actions of the monarch himself. But *Krishna-Rayer* especially sought to make his court distinguished by the resort thither of learned men. He patronised Sanscrit and Telugu literature; and the principal Telugu works are dated in his reign.* Among the learned men of his court, eight are most celebrated, and to these were given the title of *Ashtadig-gejwa*, or the eight elephants that support the world, at the cardinal points and their bisections, by allusion to the *Pauranic* fable on that subject. But withal there is great reason to consider *Krishna-Rayer* to have been of dissolute manners. Indeed licentiousness seems to have been the crying sin of the time and country; and it must be confessed, that over the manners and morals of both Mahomedan and Hindu princes, of this period, a veil may be most decently drawn. Rare indeed are the examples of kings, who being possessed of arbitrary and irresponsible power, have, at the same time, exhibited the virtues that adorn and sanctify our common nature.

It is scarcely possible to treat of the *Vijianagaram* state, without also adverting to the young and formidable rival among the Mahomedan powers, which sprung into being as if expressly to oppose it. We have before seen that the Afghan, or Patan, empire of Delhi had made irregular but powerful irruptions to the south of the *Krishna* river; and that *Deva-giri*, *Warankal*, *Dwara-samudra*, and even Madura, towards the extreme south, had suffered severely in consequence. But the temporary ascendancy acquired was chiefly owing (under divine sufferance) to the energy and capacity of two bad men, *Alla u' din*, of Delhi, and *Kafoor-Melick-Naib*. Under the cruel, weak, and wicked, government of Mahomed Tughluk-shah, or Mahomed III., a rapid dismemberment of his Dekhan possessions took place. To the south and north of the Toomboodra river, the kings of *Carnata*, *Vijianagaram*, and *Warankal*, had exerted themselves so as to drive the Mahomedans over the *Krishna*: and while the *Warankal* kingdom continued for some time after in a weakened and declining state, that of *Vijianagaram* absorbed the more ancient *Belala* power, and rose with vigour and rapidity into an independent and extensive principality; which Mahomed, and his immediate successors, were otherwise too much occupied, and too much weakened, even to attempt to oppose. It is, however, observable, (and we write under correction,) that Divine Providence seems to have put the scourge of idolatry into the hands of the Mahomedans; themselves, at that period at least, among the most fanatical of the human race; and by fanaticism, we mean to designate religious zeal mingled with intolerance and cruelty: the two latter characteristics being necessary to distinguish it from simple enthusiasm; which, according to circumstances, may be good or bad; but fanaticism is always bad; and is the worst demon that ever put on the garb of religion for a private purpose. That Mahomedan fanaticism should have had such free course allowed to it, may be accounted for from the bad being often set to correct the bad, whereby they mutually punish each other. Hence perhaps—for we do not dogmatize—it may have been that a rival, so formidable to the *Rayers* of *Vijianagaram*, arose in the *Bhamini* dynasty of *Kalburga*. When the former was young and vigorous, it successfully resisted the Patans

* Des. Cata. Vol. 1, p. 297.

of Delhi; but from the robust and mature period of *Krishna-Rayer's* reign may be dated the turning point and gradual decay. Conquest, over aboriginal natives, had fanned *Krishna-Rayer*, with its crimson wings, as far as it was well possible to go; and the age of ease, luxury, and dissipation began. If the vices which these things, especially when taken in connexion with a grovelling and degrading idolatry, tend to produce, must have chastisement extended or permitted, then an infant state, but of rapid growth, nurtured in an abomination of idolatry, and believing itself invested with a divine commission to punish, convert, or else exterminate, infidels, would seem to be, of all other instruments, precisely the one most suitable. Such a one in reality the Mahomedan principality, which had its capital at *Kulburga*, and its offset subsequently at *Bijapur*, ultimately proved.

The fortunes of *Housson*, an obscure peasant, have such a resemblance to those of *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*, that if the latter be in nowise a copy or imitation of the former, we should infer a frequent predilection, among Bramins devoted (if we may so call it) to astrological science, for telling the fortunes, or prognosticating the future lot of those who, from physiognomical or incidental circumstances, may seem to them to promise well; remembering that one fortunate conjecture would do to set off against a thousand failures. Be this as it may, the Bramin *Kangoh* (as his name is spelt in Scott's Ferishta) foretold to *Housson* (or *Hussan*) that he would rise to royal dignity; and exacted from him a promise that when this prosperous event should occur, he would make the said *Kangoh* his financial manager. *Housson* soon after, while ploughing, turned up a pot full of ancient gold coins, which he carried to the Delhi monarch, who, pleased with his honesty, gave him a rank and command in the army, with a government in the south. Some Guzerat chiefs, who had revolted and had been subdued, took refuge in *Housson's* government, and were protected by him and other commanders in the south. The Delhi monarch hereby penetrated their views of future self-aggrandizement; and despatched an *Amir* to call the whole of them together, and then lead them away prisoners to Guzerat. They put off obedience as long as possible; but at last came together, and set off towards Guzerat, under his charge. On the frontiers however a consultation took place; when, feeling persuaded that their lives were in imminent peril, they broke away, and raised each one the standard of revolt, but with combination and unity of purpose. The cruelties of Mahomed III., and the detestation in which he was held by the subject people, brought great numbers into the confederation; and at length the governor of Dowletabad (Mahomed's own relative) becoming apprehensive of treachery and betrayal, evacuated the place to preserve himself and his family; and the town being given up to the confederates,* they became possessed, even without a siege or battle, of the place which Mahomed had so foolishly sought to make his capital. Under these circumstances the confederates proceeded to elect *Ismael*, an Afghan *Amir*, as their sovereign; while *Housson* was made general, with the title of *Zuffer Khan*. The monarch of Delhi took measures to subdue this revolt; and when the two armies were in presence, *Ismael's* heart failed him, and he retreated to the capital, leaving *Zuffer Khan* to fight the imperial army. He did so, and beat them; and *Ismael*, finding afterwards that his general had won the suffrages of

* Ferishta's History of the Dekhan, by Scott, vol. 1, p. 1—6.

the confederate forces, prudently thought proper to retire, pointing to *Zuffer Khan* as the most suitable person to take his place: a designation greatly applauded by all the nobles. The former peasant *Housson* was accordingly crowned in A. D. 1317, by the title of *Sultan Alla u' din*: the black umbrella of the *Abassides* was adopted, in direct contrast to the white umbrella of Delhi, as the emblem of sovereign power and token of the royal presence; similar in effect to the royal standard among European nations. *Ismael* received the title of *Amir al amra*, or Prince of the Nobles;* but events proved that the honor was only nominal. The new Sultan was reminded of his former promise by the Bramin *Kangoh*, who was made minister of finance; and is said to have been the first Bramin ever so employed, at least by Mahomedans.† The Sultan himself, an Afghan by tribe, further took the title of *Bhamini*; as some say, by a pretended descent deduced from Bahmen, a king of Persia, but, as others say, to do honor to the Bramin; that word having been colloquially and commonly pronounced *Bhamini* by the Mahomedans.‡ *Kulburga* was, at that time and for some after reigns, the capital of the new sovereignty.

So far matters seemed only to indicate a schism in the Mahomedan government; but it had other work to do in reserve. The Telinganas of *Warankal* (very unwisely) assisted the *Bhamini* monarch against Delhi, thereby strengthening a near and vigorous natural enemy in revenge against one more remote, already enfeebled and crippled. Of such service they afterwards received the wages. On the other hand, the *Bhamini* had apparently either taken some places from the *Vijianagaram* kingdom, or else merely held them by the same tenure as other portions of the sovereignty wrested from Delhi. *Alla u' din Bhamini* died in A. D. 1357, after a splendid reign; and was succeeded by *Mahomed Shah Bhamini*, destined to be the first scourge of *Vijianagaram*. The dates of the coronation and decease of the first *Bhamini* Sultan are given according to Ferishta, which agree best with those contained in the Carnataca Dynasty, but we shall soon find ourselves in the midst of anachronisms, when compared with the authorities of Mc.Kenzie MSS. before cited. The final discussion of this question it has been already intimated is as yet postponed.

Soon after the accession of *Mahomed Shah*, the rajas of Bijanuggur (or *Vijianagaram*) and of Telingana (or *Warankal*) sent to him, requiring him to restore to them the places and the country south of the *Krishna*, which had been conquered by his father. Mahomed was not in a condition to return a direct negative, having just impoverished his treasury by the expenses attendant on equipping his mother for a pilgrimage to Mecca. He therefore contrived delays; and at the lapse of a year and a half, when his mother had returned, and his funds were in better condition, he returned a positive refusal. An army was in consequence sent against him, under the command of *Nag-deo*, of *Warankal*, which army Mahomed defeated. In A. D. 1371,§ circumstances singularly illustrative of the times occurred. A horse-dealer brought some poor animals to Mahomed for sale, and on being asked how he dared to affront a Sultan with the offer of such horses, he replied, that he had prepared very superior ones, which had been intercepted by *Nag-deo*, at Vellumputtam, accompanied with expressions of contempt for the Sultan. This was quite enough as an

* Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 6—9. † Ib. p. 10. ‡ Ib. p. 18. § Ib. p. 16—19. The date must be 1361.

incitement to Mahomed, and war against the contemptuous *Nag-deo* was forthwith resolved on; but the sultan-geographer did not precisely know where Vellumputtam was situated. He set out with an army to find it; but made some halts and delays, from ceremonial and other causes, and seems to have needed the spur of a witticism. Inquiring of a Mahomedan religious, what was the distance to Vellumputtam, he was answered that it was so far off, and that he might reach it within a certain very disproportionate length of time, if he only made as much speed as he had been lately doing. This repartee was quite to the point with the petulant *Shah:* he instantly determined on leaving the heavy body of his army behind, and selecting a light, and but slender, body of cavalry, advanced by forced marches through the very heart of the Telingana country, in which Vellumputtam was situated. Some Afghans, in disguise, were sent forward to hold the guards of Vellumputtam in parley; and, while thus engaged, the cavalry of Mahomed, with himself at their head, galloped up to the gates: the guards were sabred by the Afghans before they could give the alarm; and the place was taken by a *coup-de-main. Nag-deo* paid the forfeit of his life for his haughtiness and security; and the town became a scene of plunder and devastation. After this daring enterprise, Mahomed had great difficulty to effect his retreat, being hemmed in on all sides, his direct path only being excepted, by the forces sent against him; whose want of courage alone prevented their taking the severest possible retribution. The retreat was effected by means of a timely reinforcement, but not without the loss of the greater portion of the detachment that he had headed in this affair. The weakness of the Delhi power having been ascertained, Mahomed again invaded the country of the Telinganas, and they sent to sue for peace; adding, that if the terms were acceded to, they were prepared to make the *Shah* a rare and costly present, very desirable for a king. The consideration weighed with Mahomed: peace was concluded; and he received, as the price, a very splendid throne of ebony, gold plates, and jewels of immense value.* This present induced him to put aside his father's plain silver throne; even though enhanced in value by himself at his succession. The new throne was the wonder of the day; and, perhaps, of all things most in tone with the temper and sentiments of a semi-civilized and Asiatic mind.

Mahomed now gave himself up to pleasure; and we again find another proof of his acting by impulse, as well as of the tiny hinges on which most important events oftentimes turn. A troop of singers and dancers from Delhi came to exhibit before the *Shah;* bringing with them some new and rare compositions, in esteem at that court. In the extravagance of his approbation, and something the worse for wine, the Sultan directed his father's aged and discreet minister to give the musicians an order for liberal payment on the *Rayer* of *Vijianagaram.* The prudent minister wrote the draft, though he neither sealed nor sent it; but the Sultan inquired, the next day, if his order had been obeyed; adding, that the matter had been long meditated, and that he threw away no idle words. The document accordingly had the *Shah's* signet attached to it, and was despatched.

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* Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 22.

Kishen-Roy,* to whom it was delivered, put no bounds to his indignation: a little wisdom or discretion would have taught him to treat the rodomontade with silent contempt. Unhappily for himself and his subjects he did not possess, or at least did not exercise, so much discretionary self-command; but gave vent to his resentment, and had the presenter of the order paraded about the streets of his capital on the back of an ass,† being the most contemptuous possible degradation. Matters being thus irremediably compromised, and not choosing to wait for an invasion, which perhaps he had better have done, *Kishen-Roy* assembled an army, which marched by his orders to Oodnee, the place since usually known by the name of Adoni; and thence it proceeded to lay siege to the fortified town of *Mudkul;* which seems to have been an old bone of contention. Mahomed was not prepared for such instantaneously vigorous measures; and his not being prepared, for what he might easily have anticipated judging from the tone of his own mind, very clearly shews, that he had been guided by impulse, and not by deliberation, as he pretended; though indeed indistinct plans of conquest on *Vijianagaram* might have been entertained by him before the developement induced by the illusive influence of melody and wine. It is by consequence just possible that the matter might have dropped, had *Kishen-Roy* been, in the abstract, a little wiser, and comparatively not perhaps almost as foolish, and quite as petulant as Mahomed. But let the reader mark, if he please, as we proceed, the disastrous consequences, to unfortunate subjects, of having such heads set over them as these. Alas! that the shields of the earth should have been frequently composed of such sorry materials. The army of *Kishen-Roy* took the town of *Mudkul* before Mahomed could bring it relief; and, with an unjustifiable barbarity, put the whole garrison, amounting to six hundred men, to the sword. On this disastrous news reaching Mahomed, he became frantic: the ceremonies of religion in the obsequies of the martyrs to *Islam* were brought forward, to inflame the passions of his army and people; and he himself vowed that he would not sheath his sword until he had caused one hundred thousand infidels to be slain, in revenge of the death of the faithful, and in propitiation to their departed spirits. He was not one to utter a word of this kind lightly, the point on which he prided himself: it struck in too well with his inherent propensities, and with the glory of *Islamism,* to be revoked. He marched with an army, if not stronger in numbers, yet doubly strong in being armed by the wildest fanaticism. The two armies were encamped on the two banks of the *Krishna* river; and the *Rayer,* who seems to have been there in person, in anticipation of an engagement the next day, sent off a large body of elephants, loaded with treasure and heavy valuables, on the road towards *Vijianagaram;* which convoy made but small progress, being impeded by rains during the night, and the consequent bad state of the roads. A statesman-like foresight would perhaps have prevented his bringing these things into such a situation; but it was, we presume, bad generalship to send them away, as it intimated anticipations calculated to dispirit his army. Mahomed being apprized of the despatch of the convoy,

* Transposing this name into Tamil orthography, it should be *Krishna-Rayer:* however the date by no means accords with the one most usually assigned to him.

† Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 23, 24.

resolved to strike there; and, crossing the river at some distance, with a chosen band; before dawn fell on the convoy, threw it into disorder and flight, and captured booty at his pleasure. The *Rayer*, being panic-struck, retreated; leaving the country between the Krishna and Toomboodra rivers open. This affair Ferishta places in *Hegira* 767, marked by his translator as A. D. 1365, making the difference between the two eras to be 598 years.

Mahomed Shah, finding little to oppose him between the rivers, crossed the Toomboodra, and formally invaded the hitherto undisputed dominions of the *Rayer;* which the previous seat of war was not. Ferishta notes, that he was the first Mahomedan sovereign that had invaded this territory; though it had in former times been overrun by *Kafoor* and others. *Kishen-Roy* now made *Hoje-Mal* his general; and placed under his command forty thousand horse, and five hundred thousand infantry; that is, if Ferishta be accurate: while Mahomed, on numbering his troops, found he had under him fifteen thousand horse, and fifty thousand infantry, besides artillery.* He advanced ten thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, under the command of *Bahader-Khan*, retaining five thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry with himself, as a reserve. "The armies of light and darkness" were now in presence, and met each other: from dawn till four in the afternoon a doubtful combat was waged; the two lines were like fluctuating "waves of the sea," and "many of the faithful drank the sherbet of martyrdom," to employ the metaphors of the historian. One of the Mahomedan wings had given way, when the reserve came timely forward; and an elephant of *Bahader-Khan*, breaking loose, ran against an elephant belonging to *Hoje-Mal*, creating confusion in the centre of the latter's army; at which critical time, and important place, a charge made by the Mahomedans gave the decisive blow. *Hoje-Mal* was killed, and his army fell into confusion. A terrible slaughter was made by the reserve cavalry; and before it was ended the imperial umbrella and the *Shah* appeared; not to sheathe the sword, but to give it keener edge. Mahomed halted for a week on the field of battle; and then set forward in pursuance of his vow of extermination. *Kishen-Roy*, who must be presumed to have been not very remote from the scene of action, retreated; and was followed by Mahomed during three months; until, at last, the invading army came within sight of the *Rayer's* capital. As Mahomed found himself unable to bring on an engagement, he determined on a feint; and, proclaiming himself sick, commenced a retreat. He was followed by *Kishen-Roy* and his troops: the warfare being however confined to gasconades and petty skirmishes. Mahomed re-crossed the Toomboodra, and encamped on a spacious plain; where he resolved on changing his manœuvre, as his army was dispirited. He made his plan and intentions known to a very select few; and gave directions to these to have their bands ready on a certain spot at midnight. *Kishen-Roy*, being encamped on the other bank, yielded to security; and, as Ferishta asserts,† passed the greater portion of the night, with his court, in drinking, and looking on at the debasing spectacle of the Hindu *natch*. The character and customs of Hindu princes render this circumstance but too probable; and perhaps a sense of security was conveyed by the idea of being in pursuit of a retreating foe. Before morning his camp was thrown into disorder by

* Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 27. † Vol. 1, p. 29.

the night attack of Mahomed; which assault being unexpected, little resistance was made. It was a mere rout, attended with horrible carnage. *Kishen-Roy* fled to *Vijianagaram*; and the whole intervening country now became a scene of the most barbarous atrocities. The aged, the helpless, even women and children, were not spared.* The ensanguined vow of Mahomed was to be accomplished. The *Rayer* was now beset, in his capital, by the Bramins and others of his people, clamouring for peace. Ambassadors were accordingly despatched to Mahomed, who gave ear to the proposals, dictating his own terms: and, among other things, insisting that the draft in favor of the musicians should be paid; which caprice also being complied with, gave him satisfaction, as he was unwilling to have a light word recorded, as uttered by him, in the pages of time. When the terms were settled, the messengers made a representation, and gentle remonstrance, on the subject of the wanton cruelties that had been exercised, on which a voice from among Mahomed's own people declared that he had exceeded his vow; and Mahomed, admitting that he might have more than doubly fulfilled it, adduced his zeal for *Islam;* but promised, at the same time, that, in future, no more such outrages should take place, on unarmed and helpless persons.† Having received the elephants and treasure, specified by the treaty, he retired. The whole campaign‡ was one of bravery, skill, and withal, barbarity, against superior numbers, without a master-mind; and endued with dangerous contempt for a supposed insignificant foe. On the Hindu side also, though there was enough of superstition, there was no fanaticism.

For some time afterwards the kings of *Telingana* and *Vijianagaram* are represented as

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* Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 30. † Ib. p. 31—36.

‡ It is very remarkable, that in this campaign Mahomed first brought artillery into use, having his guns served by Turks and Europeans. The use of rockets had long been familiar to Hindus: this weapon is, beyond doubt, the famous *Agniasteram*, of which such marvels are narrated in their most ancient epic compositions; but artillery, awkwardly managed as it may have been, must have had appalling effects on the people to whom it was first opposed. We may perhaps be pardoned the passing observation, that the use of artillery, and fire-arms in general, is one of the prophetic marks accompanying, and distinctive of, the progress of Mahomedan warfare against apostate Christians or idolaters; and, in order to shield ourselves from taunt or rebuke for making such an observation, we again refer to Bishop Newton, and leave the *onus probandi* with him. (See Newton on the Prophecies, Vol. 2, p. 223.) We have intimated an impression, that the scourge for chastising idolatry in India was given to the Afghans, as it was given into the hands of the Turcomans and Ottomans in Europe. The rage of both divisions, of what may be termed one army, as actuated by the same spirit and object, began at the time announced, proceeded during the permission accorded, and ceased, with some inconsiderable exceptions, at the period limited; according to the declarations of a book, much scoffed at it is admitted, and much disgraced in the esteem of many by crude interpretations; but which has been proved, by sound and undeniable comment, to have foreshewn the end from the beginning; and which must, by consequence, have proceeded at first from the dictation of wisdom and knowledge such as dwell not with mortal men, being unaided. We make this allusion in passing, not only because we wish to trace events to their superior as well as secondary causes; but because we also wish to convey at least one friendly note of warning to any who, not being themselves idolaters, yet give the system encouragement, support, and stability; and call it policy, because immediately profitable; not knowing, or not duly considering, that in the end, and speedily too, it may prove to be short-sighted policy, and ruinously destructive. If the unhallowed alliance be not cut, and idolatry be not left to its own means; to support, prop, and maintain itself, from its own ample resources; then the alliance will most probably be cut by a power equal, or made equal, to the purpose: the interposition of which may the Almighty avert, for the sake of the millions of the people. May He avert it, by causing British protection to be withdrawn from idolatry.

paying tribute.* The latter years of *Mahomed Shah's* reign were tranquil. It lasted in all seventeen years; during which period he is said to have slain 500,000 unbelievers in defence of *Islamism!* He died *Hegira* 776,† and is profusely praised by his Mahomedan historian.

His successor, *Mujahid Shah*, had no sooner come to the throne, than he demanded to have the forts and places between the Kistna and Toomboodra rivers delivered up to him by the *Rayer*.‡ *Kishen-Roy* refused compliance; and this time the Mahomedan power was the first to move. The *Rayer* encamped on the banks of the Toomboodra; and during the advance of *Mujahid*, the latter had an adventure with a tiger, which he killed single handed, having skilfully pierced the animal's heart with an arrow. The fame of this exploit was such, that if we are implicitly to credit Ferishta, the *Rayer* did not dare to venture an engagement, but continued for not less than six months to draw *Mujahid* on through the jungles: another reason for this proceeding however appears, in his expecting the assailant army to be attacked and weakened by jungle-fever. The *Rayer* must also have diverted the Mahomedan from the capital; for Ferishta gravely tells us, not only that *Kishen-Roy* fled *towards* Seet Bunder Ramisser, (or Ramiseram,) but also that *Mujahid* amused himself by looking at Seet Bunder Ramisser,§ and repaired a mosque which had been built there by the bands of *Kafoor*, or his followers. Moreover, *Mujahid* did not forget to punish the infidels; and, after having been thus occupied, he suddenly retraced his steps, and with a small band appeared before *Vijianagaram*. A Hindu temple, situated on a hill, attracted his notice, and considering it to be a duty, devolving on the faithful, to destroy it, he carried it by an unresisted assault, and rased it to the ground. By so doing he aroused against himself the very feeling of fanaticism which he should have allowed to remain quiescent. The whole city was moved, at the outrage perpetrated in their view, as if with one mind: In the first onset *Kishen-Roy* was somewhat worsted; but the battle was renewed, on succours being brought by his brother. A long and doubtful combat‖ was waged; signalized, among other things, by a self-devoted Hindu horseman stealthily approaching the *Shah*, by the banks of the river, and rushing on him in a desperate charge. His iron helmet protected him from the consequences of the blow that actually fell on his head; and, before it could be repeated, the horseman was despatched by those at hand, whose attention had been before diverted. *Daood Khan*, who had charge of a strong post, necessary in order to secure a retreat, quitted it on finding matters at an emergency; and was abused for doing so by *Mujahid* in no measured terms. The Hindus, discovering the advantage given, took possession of the abandoned post. *Mujahid* was obliged to retreat in the best way he could; and though the matter is smoothed over by Ferishta, yet it is quite evident that he was seriously worsted, and repelled. The historian here tells us, that *Kishen-Roy's* ancestors had ruled for 700 years;¶ that hence he had accumulated great wealth, and acquired extensive power; that his dominions were more extensive than those of *Mujahid;* and that, by consequence, the latter was overmatched in the struggle. By these admissions a shade of doubt is thrown over his narrative of transactions under *Mahomed Shah*, as pos-

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* Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 37. † A. D. 1374 according to his translator; ‡ Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 40.

§ Ib. p. 42. ‖ Ib. p. 44. ¶ Ib. p. 46.

sibly much colored and exaggerated. At all events we hear no more of *Kishen-Roy* from the Mahomedan historian; and we have been so minute in epitomising his details concerning the events herein noted, as they present quite a contrast to the accounts given by the aboriginal native historians of *Krishna-Rayer*. Dates being excepted, or hereafter reconciled, *Dewul-Roy* or *Deo-Roy*, *Seva-Roy*, and *Ram-Raaze*, are evidently *Achyuta-Deva-Rayer*, *Sadasiva*, and *Rama-Raja*, in the order of the Hindu chronicles; but though we take the historian's evidence as to names, just as we find it, yet we shall have a word to add, in the sequel, as to its authenticity.

To return to *Mujahid:* he made an abortive attempt to besiege and take Oodnee (or Adoni); his army suffered from sickness; and an experienced commander, after coming to survey the forts, giving it as his opinion that they were not to be taken by the means which the *Shah* possessed, he raised the siege; and he was soon after assassinated, by the same *Daood Shah* whom he had reprimanded at Bijnagur: who being descended from the first Sultan, *Alla u' din*, took possession of the throne; but was in turn assassinated, even in the mosque at Kulburga, after an usurpation of one month and five days. The events at Kulburga, though relieved by the gentle and literary reign of the virtuous *Mhamood*, who was surnamed *Aristotle*,* were, for the rest, of a color and character from which we avert our attention; and pass on, until, by events of no ordinary singularity, the sceptre came into the hands of *Feroze Shah Bhamini;* whom we find at odds with *Dewul-Roy* of *Vijianagaram*. In the year of the *Hegira* 801,† the latter invaded the country between the rivers, the old scene of contest, and encamped on the south bank of the *Krishna*.‡ *Feroze* was on the opposite side; and the river was too high to admit of being forded. A singular scene of native manners is again opened to us. A Mahomedan *Cazi* offered his services to *Feroze* to cross the river, at a distance; to proceed to the *Rayer's* camp; and, according to circumstances, to assassinate either the *Rayer* or his son, during the night; at which time, by combination, *Feroze* was to effect the passage of a body of troops on hurdles covered with leather. The *Cazi* came to the *Rayer's* camp disguised; being accompanied by a band of fanatics, like himself, who also obtained access on various pretences. The *Cazi*, by means superfluous to detail, actually made good an entrance, with a fellow conspirator, into the prince's private apartments, and poniarded him. The camp became alarmed during the uncertainty of the night: each chief was under arms, but not knowing what rumour to believe, or what to do; while *Dewul-Roy*, inconsolable for the loss of his son, was plunged into perplexity and distraction. While things were in this situation the onset was made, before day-light, by *Feroze's* detachment. Intimidated by the events of the night, and supposing *Feroze's* whole army to be crossed, no steady resistance was offered; and after considerable loss *Dewul-Roy* retreated.§ A treaty was soon afterwards negociated by the belligerent parties; and peace was restored. We have it further noted, that *Feroze* was confirmed by *Timur* (or Tamerlane); and that, incited by the kings of Malwa and Khandeish, the *Roy* of Bijanuggur (or *Vijianagaram*) did not pay tribute for four years.

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* After the preceptor of *Secander*, or Alexander; both of whom the Mussulmanis reverence.

† Marked as A. D. 1398 by the translator. ‡ Scott s Ferishta, vol 1, p. 75. § Ib. p. 77, 78.

A senseless irruption into the territories of *Feroze* would scarcely deserve even passing notice, had it not brought on an invasion* by *Feroze*, and an assault of the *Rayer's* capital. The latter was deceived by the false promise of support from Malwa and Khandeish; a promise not redeemed. In consequence a hollow peace was patched up, cemented by the very disgusting condition, to the *Rayer*, of giving his daughter in marriage to *Feroze;* and the latter having jeopardied his life in entering *Vijianagaram* † at the marriage ceremony, seems to have expected *Dewul-Roy* to return the compliment; which the latter, perhaps very prudently, declined. *Feroze* did not conceal his chagrin from his people; and both princes, notwithstanding the forced marriage relation, seem to have hated each other as cordially as before.‡

In *Hegira* 820 (A.D. 1417) *Feroze* failed in an attack on *Bilkonda;* and in the middle of the same year *Dewul-Roy* marched against him. *Feroze* now sustained a very severe and total defeat. The Hindus singularly appear to have changed their more ordinary character. They imitated, and even if possible exceeded, the Mahomedans in barbarity. They seem to have poured forth the bitter vials of vengeance with excited eagerness. They even collected together the heads of their enemies, and piled them up into an immense platform; and, as Ferishta himself remarks, they gave vent at once to the accumulated hatred of ages. *Feroze* became low spirited, then ill, and finally sunk under the disaster; connected as it was with domestic troubles, which set aside his son, and caused *Khankhanan* to ascend the vacated throne, by the name of *Ahmed Shah.*

Soon after we find *Dewul-Roy* and the king of *Warankal* in alliance, and in arms against *Ahmed.* The two former were encamped on the banks of the Toomboodra, and on the approach of the latter, the king of *Warankal* retired from the field. A very singular circumstance now occurred. Just before the main army of *Ahmed Shah* crossed the river, a small party had done so higher up; and entering a sugar-cane plantation, for the purpose of plundering it, they surprised a native out of sleep, who being very partially clothed, as natives usually are in their undress, he was taken for a common laborer; and a bundle of sugar-canes being put on his back, he was ordered to carry it before the troopers; which, discreetly enough, he quietly did, though he was none other than the *Rayer* § himself, fairly caught napping; and now certainly carrying a sweet burden, though not possibly a very pleasant one. Very auspiciously for the *Rayer's* personal safety, though not for his kingly honor, *Ahmed* had by this time crossed with his army, and the *Rayer* being no where to be found, his chiefs and soldiers were embarrassed, and retreated in tolerably good order. The troopers, perceiving now the prospect of more important plunder, abandoned the sugar-cane, and its porter together; the *Rayer*, finding himself at liberty, took to his heels; and following in the track of his army, at last came up with some chiefs, by whom he was recognized; and the retreating army became in some degree reassured. But *Dewul-Roy* considered what had occurred to be of bad omen; and, with the superstition inseparable from genuine Hindus, he resolved not to fight, but continued his retreat to *Vijianagaram.* The consequence was, that the country was left open to *Ahmed* and his army: they abused

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* *Hegira* 809, A. D. 1406. † Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 87. ‡ Ib. p. 88. § Ib. p. 98.

the liberty cruelly; committing great devastations, and especially overthrowing the Hindu temples, rendering all indignities to the gods there worshipped. Whether it ever came into the minds of the Hindus that these were very doubtful gods, we have no means of knowing.* But however this point may be solved, it appears that they were excessively incensed against *Ahmed Shah*, in particular; taking particular care to have all his steps watched. As he indulged himself occasionally in the diversion of hunting, the spies one day found him separated from his retinue; and giving the signal, the *Shah* soon became hard pressed for his life. He was obliged, in the first instance, to his horse, and, in the second place, to a small body of expert Mogul archers, who kept his pursuers in check until he managed to reach an earthen mound, most probably the walls of a deserted habitation. This, in the extreme emergency of the case, was converted into a temporary mud-fort; which the assailants began to demolish with the usual native implements. Meantime, according to Ferishta, a presentiment of evil came into the mind of *Abd al'Kadir*, the *Shah's* first armour-bearer, and setting out with a troop in search of *Ahmed*, he came up just in time to rescue† him from his extremely perilous position. The Mahomedan author remarks on the singularity of Divine Providence allowing two great princes thus to fall, so nearly together, into such imminent straits: for ourselves, always admitting that superior agency, by command or permission, we yet conjecture that the *Rayer* had some secondary hand in this last surprise; possibly from the wish to wipe out the ridicule of his own disaster. The *Shah* handsomely rewarded his deliverer; ‡ and as the archers had been of signal service, he increased the corps, adding some honorary distinctions. *Ahmed* continued to waste the country, and at length blockaded the capital. The *Rayer* sued for peace; and submitted to send the elephants and treasure borne by them, as the price of its purchase, under the charge of his son: to whom the *Shah* rendered many honors, investing him with some complimentary presents, and then retired to *Kulburga*.§

We may note, in passing, that in *Hegira* 828 (A. D. 1421) the Sultan marched against *Warankal;* but sent *Khan-Azim* in advance, who, as it would seem, beyond the expectations of *Ahmed*, finished the business, by routing the opposing army, killing the king, and taking *Warankal*, with immense treasure: the whole country was conquered within four months.‖ Thus the imbecile policy, and multiplied tergiversations of this state, seem at length to have met with a chastisement, which cannot be regretted without an admission of being, in some respects, merited. *Ahmed* was engaged in other warlike affairs, beyond our province to notice: and, in his relaxation, he built *Ahmedabad-Bieder*, on the site of a very ancient town, which Ferishta tells us was the capital of the father of *Damiyanti*, and that *Nalen* was the king of Malwa: adding, by the way, that the story of Nulland Dummun (or very popular episode in the *Mahabharata* of *Nala* and *Damiyanti)* was translated into

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* It may be remembered, by the way, that one of the attendant consequences of Mahomedan castigation was, that "the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk." Rev. ix. 20.

† Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 100. ‡ Ib. p. 101. § Ib. p. 102. ‖ Ib. p. 102—3.

Persian by the order of *Akbar*. *Ahmed's* character changed for the worse after the building of *Ahmedabad*. Sunk in the indulgences of a second Capua, we take leave of him with feelings of pity, amounting to contempt.

In the mean time *Deo-Roy* was anxious to discover whence proceeded the Mahomedan superiority in arms. A little study of princely character might have taught him, that kings ought not to sleep, in the day time, in the face of an enemy, unattended; and that they should manifest courage and prudence, even after a surprise, as *Ahmed* had done. But kings do not blame themselves or their fathers for misadventures. In his council the prominent opinions were: the one, that fate had ordained the Mussulman superiority during thirty thousand years, as declared by a prophecy then current among them; the other, that the superiority of the enemy consisted in their archers. Determined by the latter opinion, the *Rayer* took two thousand Mussulman-archers into his service, built a mosque for them in his capital, had the Koran placed on an embroidered desk before his throne, in order that his mercenaries might do him obeisance, without violating their own law; and, by their means, he trained sixty thousand Hindus of his own army to become expert bowmen. Exclusive of these he is said to have had eighty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand infantry;* but perhaps the numbers are exaggerated. All this might have been very well, if the *Rayer* had not *trusted* to his archers. In *Hegira* 847 (A. D. 1443) he crossed the Timmedra (or Toomboodra) river; and digested the old bone of contention, the fort of *Mudkul*, by taking it: he then sent to besiege Roijore and Beechapore. Sultan *Alla-u' dien* II., who had ascended the throne *Hegira* 838 (or A. D. 1434), summoned forces from Telingana, Dowletabad, and Berar; which composed an army of fifty thousand horse, sixty-thousand foot, and artillery.† Three actions were fought within two months, in the first of which the Hindus had the advantage, and in the others they were worsted. A treaty was concluded: *Deo-Roy* continued tributary, and had the mortification to find that notwithstanding his leaning on an arm of flesh, and trusting in his bowmen, yet that the law of fate, as announced by the prophecy, was inexorable.

As to the Sultan, he was a compound of contradictions; but withal would be accounted a devout Mussulman. He held no intercourse with the Nazarenes or Bramins; he enforced the law of Mahomet against the use of wine, with unsparing rigour, on all but himself; allowed a body of *Syyeds*, or descendants of the prophet, to be unjustly massacred; and yet would ascend the desk of the mosque on Fridays, trespass on the Muluvi's office, read the *Kutbah*, or prayers for himself, wherein he was styled the just, the merciful, and so forth: until one day some Arabs, whom he had plundered, gave him publicly the lie in his teeth; denied that he was either just or merciful; and asserted that, on the contrary, he was a murderer of the *Syyeds*, and a plunderer of the poor. So much for the glory of *Islam*.

In the reign of *Mahummud Shah Bhamini* we find operations carried on against Orissa,‡ where the *Shah* killed a Bramin with his own hand, which was considered, even by his own people, as a sinister augury. He remained three years in *Rajahmundry*, and then carried on operations against *Nersinga*,§ who it is intimated was in rebellion against *Vijianagaram*;

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* Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 118. † Ib. p. 119. ‡ Ib. p. 163. § Ib. p. 165.

whose territories seem to have been cut off from the *Rayer's* dominions to the southward of Masulipatam, coinciding with the more recent kingdom of *Narsinga*, once confounded by Europeans with *Vijianagaram*, and being substantially the same with the kingdom of which the capital was *Chandragiri* after the overthrow of *Vijianagaram*. In this incursion the *Shah* penetrated to *Kinjee*, induced by report of a Hindu temple there covered with plates of gold. No doubt *Kanji* (or *Kanchipuram*) is intended; as Persian orthography is not very definite, or is easily capable of mistake in the vowel points. A gigantic and adventurous horseman here tilted with the Sultan, at the first onset, but was slain; and though considerable resistance was made, yet the temple was plundered.*

Some time afterwards *Mahomed Shah* allowed his exemplary, faithful, and virtuous minister, *Kajeh Jehaun*,† to fall a prey to the machinations of envious and malicious courtiers; who, as usual, (when the meritorious and exemplary are near the evil and narrow-minded,) could not endure so much merit, and contrived to get him slain, on a charge of treachery; the last fault of which he would have been capable. He suffered without due examination being had, in the very presence of the too hasty and credulous Sultan, and with a prophetic sentence on his lips, fulfilled by the event. Symptoms of disaffection forthwith appeared. The *Shah* discovered the truth too late; he became a victim of extreme remorse; and died declaring that *Khajeh Jehaun* was preying on his vitals: but not before the standards of revolt had been reared, and his kingdom was in effect dismembered. This was *Hegira* 887 (A. D. 1482); and about the same time *Siva-Roy*, prince of *Vijianagaram*, is said to have sent an expedition against Goa.

Some intrigues are recorded by Ferishta,‡ in which *Casim Bereed* induced *Raam-Raje* (minister of the *Roy*, who was a child) to proceed against *Eusuff Adil Khan;* who, having propitiated *Raam-Raje*, proceeded to avenge himself on *Casim Bereed.* These are insignificant, except as in some degree explaining the ascendancy acquired by *Rama-Raja.* The Bhamini dynasty ended with *Sultan Kulleem oolla Bhamini*, having been previously reduced to a shadow; and about the same time *Baber* set aside the old dynasty at Delhi, and mounted the throne there. At this date, *Hegira* 933, (or A. D. 1526,) the Dekhan (or Mahomedan) power between the Tapti and Krishna rivers§ was divided into five kingdoms, or the *Adil Shawei* of Beejeapore, the *Kuttub Shawei* of Golconda, the *Ummand Shawei* of Berar, the *Nizam Shawei* of Ahmednuggur, and the *Bereed Shawei* of Ahmedabad Bieder.‖

These principalities, taken singly, were each incompetent to cope with the greater power of *Vijianagaram.* The only bond that could unite them was zeal for their common religion; and it is somewhat singular that *Rama-Raja*, by a needless affront, should have touched this common chord of unison a little too roughly. " This (insult) is not specified by Ferishta; " but the Hindu records state, that on going to an audience of the *Raja*, the envoy (of " *Ibrahim Adil Shah)* passed on his way some swine, intended to be given to menials of the " court. As he expressed his abhorrence of these unclean animals to the *Raja*, the latter

* Scott's Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 166. † Ib. p. 172. ‡ Page 190. § Colonel Wilks, South of India, chap. 1.

‖ Ferishta, end of part I.

" treated his aversion with ridicule; and asked him how he could hold them as unclean " when he fed upon fowls, which picked up grains from the ordure of swine? and took an " opportunity of shewing him the fact. The insult roused *Ibrahim Adil Shah* to arms; and " he was readily joined by the other Mahomedan princes, who were eager to avenge indig- " nities offered to mosques and the faithful, by the Hindus when acting as allies with one " or other of them, in their wars among themselves."*

The Mackenzie MSS., and Professor Wilson's notice concerning them, serve as a valuable check on Ferishta; and yield the means of correcting his use of the names of the rulers of *Vijianagaram*. It may be observed, that the first rout of the *Rayer's* camp by *Mahomed Shah Bhamini*, is placed by him *Hegira* 767; and the close of the *Bhamini* dynasty, *Hegira* 933 (A. D. 1526); and if thirty-eight years be added, to bring us down to the era of the battle of Tellicotta, the total is two hundred and four years; during which whole period Ferishta mentions no other names of *Vijianagaram* rulers than *Kishen-Roy*, *Dewul-Roy*, *Deo-Roy*, *Seva-Roy*, and *Ram-Raaze:* being an average of something more than forty years to each; contrary to probability, and contrary to fact. Still, without other information than that given by Ferishta, the error could only be conjectured, not proved. The difference between the solar computation of the Christian era, and the lunar reckoning of the Mahomedan *Hegira*, being presumed to be correctly given by the translator in his margin, we arrive at the necessity of carrying up the first contests, between the principalities of *Vijianagaram* and *Kulburga*, to an earlier period of the former's existence than we had at first anticipated. By comparison with the list given in p. 97—8, we shall find, that *Hegira* 767, or A. D. 1365, carries us up to the fifteenth year of the reign of *Booka-Rayaloo* (or *Bukha-Rayer*). The first mention of *Dewul-Roy* occurs *Hegira* 801 (A. D. 1399), corresponding with the twentieth year of *Harihara-Rayer*, who reigned in all twenty-two years; yet *Dewul-Roy* continues for a considerable time after to be mentioned by Ferishta. *Deo-Roy* is said to have formed the corps of archers; and to have opened a campaign *Hegira* 847 (A. D. 1443): this date corresponds with the ninth year of the reign of *Gunda-Deva-Rayer*. *Nersinga* is mentioned (as prince of a different state) at about *Hegira* 885 (A. D. 1480), which corresponds with the reign of *Mallicar-Rayer;* after which, a brief interval of eight years, with two intervening short-lived rulers, brings us to *Narasinga-Rayer;* and the change of dynasty in him and his posterity. *Seva-Roy* is mentioned as cotemporary with *Mahummud Shah*, who died *Hegira* 887 (A. D. 1482), still in the reign of *Mallicar-Rayer*. The close of the *Bhamini* dynasty *Hegira* 933 (A. D. 1526) synchronizes with the nineteenth year of the reign of *Krishna-Rayer*. The year 1564 agrees with the reign of *Sadasiva*, and the usurped power of *Rama-Raja*.

By this process we arrive at one of two conclusions. Either Ferishta, well knowing the events of *Krishna-Rayer's* reign, deliberately removed it to near the top of the series, from the wish to obliterate the memory of Mahomedan disasters, and to paint *Krishna-Rayer* to posterity in the very opposite point of view to the real events of his reign: or else, being ignorant of the names of the earlier *Rayers*, he took the list of those which he did know;

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* Wilson's Des. Cata. vol. 1, p. 297—8.

and, only keeping the order of succession undisturbed, was reckless as to the chronological propriety of his narrative, so far as they were concerned. Either of these motives (and something of both may have been blended) would detract seriously from his veracity; and he must be considered an unfaithful guide: so that whether the battles and events which he narrates as favorable to the Mahomedan side are, or are not, to be taken *cum grano salis*, the reader will be pleased to determine.

The probability is, that he has given an approximating sketch of early events in the *Vijianagaram* state; of which the native chronicles, so far as we are aware, say nothing. The indication afforded respecting *Nersinga* seems adapted to fill up a chasm of some importance. The change of dynasty at *Vijianagaram* is but obscurely alluded to by the Mackenzie MSS.* It however appears, that *Narasinha* was a *Telinga Raja*, the son of *Iswara-Raja*, the petty sovereign of *Karnul* and *Arviri*, a tract of country on the *Tunga-bhadra* (Toomboodra), to the east of it, near its junction with the *Krishna:* his grants extend from A. D. 1487 to 1508. Some accounts say that the last prince, *Virupaksha*, was conquered by a *Telinga Raja:* others, that he raised one of his slaves to the throne. The former of the two seems the most probable; and the indication given by Ferishta coincides therewith. His description of *Nersinga's* dominion shews that in 1480 much territory must already have been acquired from the former possessions of *Vijianagaram*,† and every thing seems to intimate that he subverted the *Kuruba* dynasty, ending with *Virapaksha:* although there still remains some obscurity to be accounted for between *Narasinga* and *Narasa;* and it appears by one statement‡ that *Krishna-Rayer*, the second son of *Narasa*, came to the throne by the deposition of his elder brother *Viranarasinha.*

So far therefore as dates are concerned, Mr. Wilson is grounded in saying that the name of *Krishna-Rayer* is not mentioned by Ferishta: § the fact is, that the historian greatly displaces the name; whether intentionally, in order to disgrace it, from a motive of pique, cannot be decided. That he puts *Siva-Roy* erroneously ‖ for *Krishna-Roy* may be doubted; since the date given to *Siva-Roy* is so much higher up, and in the reign of *Mallicar-Rayer.* We may here quote a few periods from Mr. Wilson, they being comprehensive and sufficient, so far as *Krishna-Rayer* is concerned.

" In the latter part of the fifteenth century the line was changed, and *Narasa*, *Narasinha*, " or *Vira-Narasinha*, whom the Hindu records regard as of Telinga extraction, is described " by Ferishta as a powerful chief of Telingana, who had possessed himself of the greater part " of the territory of *Vijayanagar*. His illegitimate son, *Krishna-Raya*, appears to have been " the most distinguished of the whole series of *Vijayanagar* princes; and although his name " is not mentioned by Ferishta, it is admitted that in 1520, or in his reign, the Musselmans " sustained a severe defeat from the armies of *Vijayanagar*, and that subsequently a good " understanding prevailed between that court and the *Bijapur* monarchy, for a considerable

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxliii. cxliv.

† Mr. Wilson also infers that the territory of former princes must have been " considerably reduced before the *Kuruba* dynasty was exterminated." Intro. p. cxlx.

‡ Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxlv. § Ib. vol. 1, p. 295. ‖ Ib. Intro. p. cxlviii.

" period.—According to the authority which has given rise to these observations, *Krishna-*
" *Rayer* was the son of *Narasa* or *Narasinha*, by *Nigamba*, a friend or attendant of the
" queen, and was actually an incarnation of *Krishna*, the (so called) deity. His step-mother,
" *Tippamba*, jealous of his superiority as a boy over her son *Viranarasinha*, prevailed on
" her husband to order *Krishna-Deva* to be put to death. The officer to whom this duty was
" intrusted, being reluctant to fulfil it, applied to the prime minister, who undertook to
" secrete the prince till he could be produced with safety; and the king was told that his
" commands had been obeyed. In his last illness the king was much afflicted for the death
" of his son, on which the minister produced the prince, and *Krishna-Deva* was declared
" heir and successor. The minister delayed proclaiming him till he had secured the concur-
" rence of the *Palligars*, which was obtained, it is said, through supernatural aid, an absurd
" tale being introduced for this purpose. *Viranarasinha*, it is added, died of vexation, on
" his brother being acknowledged raja. The contests of *Krishna-Raya* with the Mahomedan
" prince of *Bijapur* have been already adverted to, and he is here said to have waged
" successful war against the Mahomedan sovereign of Golconda.

" According to this work,* *Krishna-Raya* reduced *Maisur* (Mysore), and the country
" along the *Kaveri*, to his authority—defeated the Mahomedan armies of *Bijapur* and Gol-
" conda—captured the forts of *Udayagiri*, *Kondavir*, and *Kondapilli*; and invaded Orissa,
" the *Gajapati* prince of which country was compelled to do him homage. He married
" the daughter of the raja of Orissa, and returned to *Vijayanagar*, with which the narrative
" concludes."†

Krishna-Rayer was succeeded by *Achyuta-Deva*, after some previous ministerial intrigues; and he by *Sadasiva*, already frequently alluded to as a mere pageant prince in the hand of *Rama-Raja*. There were however some struggles in the interval between the death of *Achyuta-Deva* and the accession of *Sadasiva*, marked in the list given, p. 98, by the introduction of the name of *Saleca-Timma-Raaze*. We pass by this circumstance, as unimportant as it is obscure, and which even Mr. Wilson's conjectures ‡ do not appear to us satisfactorily to reconcile or explain; and think it sufficient to consider the power of *Rama-Raja* ultimately established. Thenceforward the brief observations of Mr. Wilson appear to us to be the surest guide; which are accordingly extracted.

" That *Rama-Raja* was a man of spirit and conduct, is evident from the course of
" Mahomedan history. The princes of the Dekhin were glad to court his alliance. *Ali*
" *Adil Shah* and *Kutteb Shah* were compelled to purchase his forbearance by territorial
" concessions. The arrogance with which he seems to have been in consequence inflated,
" led him to treat their ambassadors with indignity; and insulted pride, religious bigotry,
" and political dread, combined them in arms against him. The Padshahs of *Bijapoor*
" Golconda, Dowlatabad, and Berar, united their forces in the year 1564, and marched to
" *Talikota*, on the *Krishna*, to overthrow the power of the *Vijayanagar* principality. The
" Hindu prince, on hearing of their designs, collected a powerful force, and occupied the
" right bank of the *Krishna*, which the allies were unable to cross in the face of the hostile

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* *Krishna Raya Cheritra.* (In Telugu.) † Des. Cata. vol. 1, p. 295—6. ‡ Ib. Intro. p. cxlix.

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"army. By a judicious feint, the sultans drew the Hindu prince away from the ford, and "effected a passage: a general action ensued, in which the Hindus had the advantage, until "the *Raja* was taken prisoner. The Hindu account says that the divisions of *Kutteb Shah* "and *Nizam Shah* had been defeated; but the forces of *Ali Adil* and *Ammad ul' Mulk* "covered their retreat. The Hindus, conceiving the enemy annihilated, gave themselves up "to rejoicing and festivity, and were surprised in their encampment. Ferishta, who may "be considered as a cotemporary, admits that the wings of the Mohammedan army were "thrown into disorder, and that some of the leaders despaired of the day, when it was "relieved by the success of the centre, under *Nizam Shah*, and the capture of *Rama-Raja*. "The Hindu prince was taken before *Nizam Shah*, who ordered his head to be struck off "and mounted on a lance, to intimidate the victorious division of the Hindu army. The "Hindu accounts concur in the capture and death of *Rama-Raja;* but ascribe them to *Ali* "*Adil Shah*. The Sultan is described as beheading the *Raja* with his own hand, at the "request of the latter, to save him from the personal degradation of confinement. The "Hindu memoirs assert that *Ali Adil Shah* was forced into the war by the other Moham-"medan princes; but Ferishta makes him the author of the confederacy. That writer "mentions also the visit made formerly by *Ali Adil Shah* to *Vijayanagar* to secure the "alliance of *Ramraj*, and his adoption as a son by the *Raja's* mother. In the *Rama-Raja* "*Cheritra*, the Hindu prince terms the Sultan his son, and reminds him how often in infancy "he had sat upon his knees. In complying with his request, and striking off his head, *Ali* "*Adil Shah* is represented as performing no more than filial duty.

"After the defeat of the Hindu prince the confederates marched to *Vijayanagar*, which "they took, plundered, and destroyed. Ferishta, writing about twenty or thirty years "afterwards, observes, that the city was still uninhabited and in ruins, whilst the country "was occupied by the *Zemindars*, each of whom had assumed an independent power in his "own district. Several of these were members, either of the royal family of *Vijayanagar*, "or of that of *Rama-Raja*. Grants in the reign of *Sadasiva* are continued to S.S. 1492 "(A.D. 1570), six years after the battle of *Talikota;* and his descendants are traced "sovereigns of the principality of *Bednur* to the middle of the eighteenth century. *Venka-*"*tadri*, one brother of *Rama*, maintained himself at *Belkonda* and *Chandragiri*, whilst "another brother, *Trimal*, retained possession of *Penakonda*. A son of *Rama-Raja*, with the "aid of one of his uncles, recovered possession of *Anagundi* and *Vijayanagar:* on the "direct line becoming extinct, *Venkatapati*, a kinsman of the *Chandragiri* branch, succeeded; "the seventh from him, *Timmapa*, was dispossessed by *Tipu Sultan*, and became a pensioner "of the British Government." *

Thus at the battle of Tellicotta the sun of *Vijianagaram* set in blood, to rise no more with its former splendor. Ferishta's account of the battle implies that *Rama-Raja* despised his enemy; vauntingly and injudiciously exposed himself; and had to blame himself for his own capture. What share in the events, from the reign of *Krishna-Rayer* downwards to this fatal close, may have been taken by the two persons who figure in the outset of the

* Des. Cata. Intro. p. cl. to cliii.

Carnataca Dynasty, in the sections under annotation, we cannot possitively determine. It seems probable, however, that when *Visvanatha-Naicker* is said to have overcome some rebellious tributary princes in the north, these may have been the kings of *Kondavir*, *Warankal*, *Cuttack*, and perhaps the *Adil Shahi* sultans. It is also most probable, that the occasion which drew away *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* from Madura to the north, was the combination of Mahomedan princes, who very probably had feudatories, or vassals, from the ancient *Maharashtiras*, or Mahrattas, in their train. "On the downfall of *Vijianagaram*," Mr. Wilson remarks, "the governors of Gingee, Trichinapali, Mysore, and other places to the south, became at the same time independent;"* and hence, as we have already seen, arose the autocratical power and splendor of *Visvanatha-Naicker*, with the official dignity of his compeer, friend, and generalissimo, *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar*.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 6.

It appears from this section, that the evils inherent in the feudal system of tenure very speedily began to manifest themselves. Some notice of the *Palliya-carer*, will be best introduced in another place. In one of the two MS. lists which we have of them, we find the name of *Dummachi-Naicker* simply mentioned; but without the name of his district being added. The conduct of *Periya-Kistnama-Naicker* seems to have been temperate and dignified. There are with us no materials for the further illustration of his reign. We should imagine that inscriptions must exist at Palamcottah, commemorating his buildings and grants. *Kistnapuram*, the name of the town which he built, is derived from another copy of the leading Manuscript. Most of our readers will be aware, that *Palliyangkotai* and *Tirunelveli* (or Palamcottah and Tinnevelly) differ only as a fort differs from its *pettah*, or town; and are, we believe, on different banks of the *Tembaveni* river.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 7.

We have here a circumstance stated of considerable interest, but without any further clue to guide our researches. The allusion to the king of *Mavalivanam* is made in a passing and familiar way, as to a matter very well known and understood at the time when the MS. was written. The word *Mavalivanam* will not bear an application to the *Marawa* country. The *Maliyalam* country, is also radically different in its orthography. There is no independent *Palliyam* of this name in our lists. And the only name (within our knowledge) to which the names agree is *Mavaliveram*, or the Seven Pagodas, near Madras, sometimes learnedly termed Mahabalipuram. Besides, on inquiry, it is found, that the people of the country commonly use the words *Mavalivanam* and *Mavaliveram* quite indifferently and

* Des. Cata. vol. 1, p. 298.

interchangeably; and, that there can be no reason whatsoever to question the application of the name in our MS. to the place called on the spot, more usually, *Mavaliveram.* Hence we presume that the certainty of the reference may be taken for granted. We further remember speaking with an intelligent native, who, alluding to the ancient division of the *Sora-desam,* said, that after the partition of it by a *Soren* king in favor of his son, this part of the country came to be called *Tora-mandalam* (that is, we suppose, *Tonda-mandalam*); and that the capital of this latter kingdom was at *Mavaliveram.* If such were the origin of the *Mavalivânam* kingdom, then an attack by its king on the ancient *Pandiya-mandalam* is perfectly explicable. The invasion we see was repelled; but having at present no materials for illustrating the military movements in this campaign, we might possibly crave the reader's permission to arrest his attention for a short time, and fix it on the spot named originally after *Mabali,* which subsequently became the site of a town, most probably the capital of a kingdom, of which the submerging waves have now left only a few vestiges. But perhaps the doing so might too much interrupt the course of our present illustration, especially as the reference is but slight, and may be as yet accounted uncertain. Should any remarks, as the result of personal observation, be thought suitable, we may put them into a paper in the Appendix.

The fort built by *Periya-Virapa-Naicker* to the south of Trichinopoly, is susceptible of the various reading given from two Manuscripts. We conjecture, however, that அற்பக் கொட்டை *(Arpa-kottai),* a small fort, or one of no great consequence, may be the true reading. In Mr. Orme's history, frequent mention is made of *Elimiseram,* as a fortified rock to the south of Trichinopoly, much inwoven with the military transactions in that neighbourhood. Whether this be the fort in question, can at present be only matter of conjecture.

It is to be presumed, from the first mention here occurring, that the subsequent custom of committing a secondary authority to a younger brother of the reigning prince, carrying with it a right to the throne in case of the elder one leaving no legitimate posterity, was now first begun. It is known from history that the like custom was ruinous to the later Roman empire, from the divisions and civil wars to which it gave occasion; and it also proved, in the event, the proximate cause of the subversion of the small state of Madura by the Mahomedans, as will be seen from the later portion of the narrative.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 8.

In the manuscript of the Mackenzie collection entitled *Pandya-mandala Rajakal,* some mention of the *Marawa* country occurs; of which Mr. Wilson gives the following abstract.*—" The work contains also some account of the people of *Marawa,* who it is said " were originally a colony of fishermen from Ceylon, settled at *Rameswara,* and on the " opposite coast, by *Rama,* to guard the temple. They were made slaves by the new

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* Des. Cata. vol. 1, p. 195.

"colonists, and long continued to be subject to the *Pandya* princes: at length becoming "numerous, they rose against their masters; and established themselves under their own "princes, the *Setupatis*, or lords of the straits: the *Chandra*, or *Sender Bandi*,* apparently, of *Marco Polo*. For eleven generations the *Setupatis* were lords paramount, even "over Madura; and the *Pandya* princes were reduced to the condition of feudatories; until "the whole of the kingdom fell under the *Marawa* power for three reigns, when they were "driven to the south of the *Kaveri* again by the *Kurumba* prince of *Alakapuri;* and finally "Madura and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the *Vijeyanagar* kings."

In another place † we have referred to this statement, and we cannot but intimate some doubts of the correctness of this alleged ascendancy, though it is not distinctly denied. The present section of our leading Manuscript would rather imply a very partially inhabited and ill-regulated country, at a period comparatively early after the accession of the *Vijianagaram* dynasty. At the same time, it would seem that there was some head man of prominence and influence, to whom the title of *Sethopathi* belonged, before it was confirmed by the king of Madura. *Udiyan* is rather a title than a proper name, signifying "a possessor," somewhat synonimous to "lord of the manor," or, in ancient times, a feudal baron. The same title, with the dialectic variation of *Wadeyar*, was common in Mysore. Now this chief, it is evident, was not lord paramount of the whole *Marawa* province: the interest of the king's *guru*, and the authority delegated to *Udiyan Sethopathi*, were the means of enabling him to subdue and regulate the province; and whatever may have been the state of the case in more ancient times, here at least we find the origin of the *Marawa* prince, whose descendants are connected with the history of subsequent times. In some manuscript notices of Poligars, the *Marawa* kingdom is mentioned as a filial offset from that of Madura; and is compared, by metaphor, to an adopted child. With such a term the account we find in the leading MS. very well agrees. And though, like some other wayward children, it gave trouble to the parent state, in the following reign; yet, on return to a better mind, the disloyalty was amply atoned for by being perhaps the immediate means whereby the Madura kingdom was prevented from being conquered by the Mysoreans. It was of equal importance at a later period; and, indeed, down to the very close, seems to have well maintained its affiliated character.

For the sake only of readers at a distance it is noted, that the temple of Ramiseram was built to commemorate the invasion of *Lanka*, or Ceylon, by *Rama-Chandra;* which is the principal subject of the *Ramayana*. The great popularity of the poem has rendered Ramiseram one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in the southern Peninsula of India.

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* *Banthu* is a Tamil word to denote relationship; hence *Sender Bandi* would seem to mean the same as *Chandra Vamasa*, which the Pandions considered themselves to be.

† Vol. 2, p. 74.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 9.

In a college list of Mackenzie MSS., now in the charge of the Madras Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society, mention is made of one professing to give an account of the reign of *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*. This MS. we hope to see, so as to ascertain whether it refer to the elder brother, or to the son of *Trimala-Naicker;* both of whom are passed by, with the simple mention of their names, by our present authority.

The reign of *Trimala-Naicker* forms the most distinguished epoch, after the formation of the dynasty, in the history of the modern kingdom; and this owing to the great munificence of the monarch in public buildings and endowments: conferring a before unknown splendor on the place; and being the cause of nearly all the curiosity and inquiries directed by Europeans to this town, the ancient remains (though the antiquity is not great) being much better known than any thing else concerning it, down at least to a very recent period. With the comparatively slight exception of Professor Wilson's digest, in his Descriptive Catalogue, we presume that our own researches will be the first to give a general and connected view both of the antiquities and history. Before introducing any annotations of our own on the reign of *Trimala-Nicker*, we would refer to the *Mirtanjeya* MSS.; and, after introducing such of them as bear on this reign, we would offer a few further remarks on those points in this section which they leave unnoticed.

These manuscripts will now follow: and we have much pleasure in adding, that the above-mentioned Mackenzie MSS. yield further matter for illustrating the reigns of this prince and some of his successors.

THE ACCOUNTS OF *TIRUMALI-NAICKER*, AND OF HIS BUILDINGS.

As extracted, for information, from written authorities.

In the year S.S. 1544, in *Dundimi* year, the 7th of *Masi* month, *Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* came to Madura in order to be anointed, (or installed,) to receive the sceptre and other ensigns of royal authority. While he was reigning in *Tirusirapali*, he suffered, in a bad time, from a catarrh, by which he was greatly troubled, so as to be unable to eat; and though he worshipped in the temples of *Ranga* and *Jembu*, (on the island in the Cauvery,) the disease was not alleviated. He removed to sway the sceptre at Madura, not without greatly suffering (on the road). He came by way of Dindigul; and while resting during the journey, the goddess *Minatchi*, and the god *Suntaresvarer*, by an act of favor, appeared to him in a dream, in a divine form, and said, that if he (finally) removed, and fixed the seat of his government at Madura, and there duly built and ornamented the temple, with other similar things, they would cure him of his disease; and they seemed to him in vision to give him the sacred ashes to swallow, and to rub him with them externally. This vision he saw during the Indian hour just preceding day-break. On arising, he narrated this dream to the Bramins, to his ministers, and others; and vowed, that, if he should be cured of the disease, he would give five *lacs* of gold *puns* to make *sacred* works, repairs, and ornaments. Immediately after, while cleaning his teeth, (as usual in the early morning with all natives,) his stomach was relieved of the entire disease, by favor of the *Siddha-murti* (or deity). As soon as he was freed from the catarrh, he became more devoted to the god; and entered into the profession symbolized by the *sacred* ashes and five letters; and then came to the palace of his elder brother. After receiving the sceptre, his bodily health became daily better; and he was at length entirely well. From the centre of the temple as far as to the *Cabali* wall, he had the whole repaired or re-constructed. Besides, from the public revenues he gave one thousand *puns* out of every *lac* (or hundred thousand) for the customary and extraordinary services and festivals of the god; and for the regular

திருமலைனாயக்கரய்யாவர்கள நாளையில நடநதசெயதிக்கி தெரியும்படியாய்எழுதி
விச்சஙகோசததமிளசுவததிய - ௵ - சாலியவாகனசெகாபுததம் - ௲௫௱௪௰௪ - க்குமே
லசெலலாநினறதுநதுமி - ௵மாசி௴௰எ - முததுதிருமலைனாயக்கரயபாவர்களுக்கு
பட்டாபிஷேகமாய்மதுரையிலவநதுசெஙகோலும்மூலபொயிததினிடமாயவாஙகிவந
தார்களஇப்படிக்கிதிருச்சுராப்பளளியிலிருந்துராசரிக்கம்பணணுகையிலகறம்மவசத்தி
னாலேகௌரோகம்வநதுஅதினாலேரொம்பவும் உபததிரியததைஅடைநதுஅன்னமா
காரஙகூடயிலலாமலரெஙகனாயகர்செம்புனாதறமுதலான தேவர்ஆருதினையிலும்தீரா
மலவெகு தும்பததுடனேஅச்சய - ௵சிததிரை௴ - செஙகோல வாஙகுறததுக்குஆக
மதுரைக்குயெழுநதருளிவருகையிலதிணடுக்கலமார்க்கமாய்வரும்போதுமீனாட்சிசுந
தரேசுவ்ராளுக்கு கிறபைவநதுசிததரூபமாய்போய் சொறப்பனம்சாதிச்சார்யெப்ப
டியெனறால மதுரைஸ்தலம் பெரியஸ்தலமாயிருக்சஅதறக்குபூசை புனரக்காரம்உச்ச
வாதியளதிருப்பணிதிருவாபரணஙகளசகலமும்உபரியாய்நடப்பிவிச்சுக்கொணடுநீயும்
மதுரையில தானேயிருநதுராசரிக்கம் பணணிகொணடியிருநதால இநத ரோகத்தை
தீததுப்போடுகுரோம்யெனறு மேலெலலாம்சய்யினாலேதளுவி வீபூதியும்தரிததுஉ
ளளுக்கும்வீபூதிகுடுதததைவாஙகிபொசிதததாயவிடிய ஒருனாளியளுக்குசொறப்பன
ஙகணடார்களவிடிஞச உடனேசாமாசிகாளபிரதானியளமுதலான பெரிடததிலஇநத
சொப்பனவிர்ததாந்தததைசொலலிசநதோஷமாய்இந்தஉபததிரியம்மட்டும்தீர்நதா
லசுவாமிக்கிஅருசுலெட்சம் பொனதிருப்பணிதிருவாபரணம் செய்விக்குரோம்யென
றுபிராததினைபணணிக்கொணடார்களஉடனேதெநத தாவனம்பணணுகுர்போதுவா
நதிபணணவநதுவாநதிஆகுர்போதுசிததமூறததிக்கிறபையினாலேக்கூட டோடெகள
ணடுவிழுநதுதுகௌரோகம்நிவாரணமானஉடனே சுவாமியினிடததிலஅதிசபகிததிஉ
ணடாய்வீபூதிபஞசாட்சாததுக்குளபடடுசைவமததததைஅனுசரிததுக்கொணடுதமை
யனருடையஅரமனை வநதுசேர்நதார்களசெஙகோலும் வாஙகிஆனஉடனே னாளுக்கு
னாளதேகம்பூரிததுஆரோக்கியததை அடைநதுதுகெறப்பக்கெறகம்முதல கபாவிஉ
டையவரமதிளவனாக்கும்மூனனுதாகசகலமானதிருப்பணியளும்போக்குவறததுப்பா

fulfilment of this gift, he endowed the temple with lands to the annual value of forty-four thousand *puns.** He also gave a village for the constant support of the *Stanega,* or head Bramins, and the other persons belonging to the temple: of all which there is a regular account.

THE SPECIFICATION OF HIS VOW.

For a *tiru-vatchi,* or golden semi-circlet, to be put over the image in processions, One *lac* of *puns.*

For a golden throne with jewels for the god, One *lac* of *puns.*

For digging and constructing the *Terpa-kulam,* One *lac* of *puns.*

For the building of the *Vasanta-Mandabam,*† One *lac* of *puns.*

For miscellaneous temple ornaments, One *lac* of *puns.*

Having thus arranged the plan, the whole was begun to be carried into execution at once, in the tenth day of *Vyasi* month of *Acheya* year, during the increase of the moon. From that time forwards, as the master came daily to inspect the work, it was carried on with great care. As they were proceeding first in excavating the *Terpa-kulam,* they dug up from the middle a *Ganapathi,* (or image of Ganesa,)‡ and caused the same to condescend to dwell in a temple built for the purpose. As they were placing the sculptured pillars of the *Vasanta-Mandabam,* and were about to fix the one which bore the representation of *Yega-patha-murti,* (or the one-legged deity,) they were opposed by the *Vaishnavas.* Hence a dispute arose between them and the *Saivas,* which lasted during six months, and was carried on in the presence of the sovereign. Two arbitrators were appointed, *Appa-tidshadar* on the part of the *Saivas,* and *Ayya-tidshadar-ayyen* on the part of the *Vaishnavas:* these consulted Sanscrit authorities, and made the *Sastras* agree; after which the pillar of *Yega-patha-murti* was fixed in its place. When the pillar representing the wonders performed by the *Sittar* (vide the 20th *Tiruvilliadel*) was being sculptured, the king came to see the work carried on. The chief sculptor was named *Sumantira-*

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* Whence it is to be presumed that his whole revenue amounted to forty-four *lacs* of gold *puns.*

† This is a summer palace, intended to relieve the god from the oppression of extreme heat, and furnished with fans, flowers, &c.

‡ Considered to be a propitious omen.

த்துபுதுப்பிவிச்சுஅப்பாலலெட்சததுக்குஆயிரம்பொன்வீதம்சுவாமிக்குபூசைக்கும்உ
ச்சவாதியளுக்காகவும் நார்ப்பததிநாலாயிரம் பொன்சீமையும்விடடுக்குடுததுஸ தானீ
கான்பரிசனங்களுக்கும்அனனபானுதியளுக்குசுததசருவமானனியமாய்க்கிராமவிடடுக்
குடுததார்களஅதறக்கெலலாம் கணக்குணடுபிராததினைசெய்ததுக்குவிபரம்சுவாமிக்கு
ரததினததிருவாசிலெட்ச்ம்பொனனும்ரததின சிஙகாசனம்லெட்ச்ம்பொனனும்தெப்
பக்குளம்லெட்ச்ம்பொனனும் வசநதமணடபம்லெட்ச்ம்பொனனும் சிலலறைதிருப்
பணிகளலெட்ச்ம்பொனனும்இநதப்பிரகாரம் நேமுகம்பணணின உடனே அடசெய்
ஞுவயயாசிமீயெ - பூர்வபட்ச்ம்முக்கூறததம்பணணினார்கள அதுமுதலவேலையள
அதிசாக்கிரதையாய்ப்பிறபுநிததம்வநதுகண்ப்பார்ப்பதினாலே அதிசாக்கிறதையாய்ந
டநதது முனனுதாகதெப்பக்குளம்வெடடுகுறபோது நடுவிலேஉததாறணமாய்ஒரு
கெணபதிஉதையமானார்அவரைக்கோவிலில யெளுநதருளப்பணணிவிச்சார்களவசநத
மணடபம்தூண்நாடடுகுறபோதுயேகபாதமூறததிவாணிச்சியிருக்குற தூணைநடப்ப
டாதெனறுசீமையிலஉளளவயிஷ்ணவாளுக்கும்சையவாளுக்கும் வாக்குவாதமாய்ஆரு
மாசம்வரைக்கும்விபகாரம்யேலினசுவாமிமுனனிலைக்கிநடநததுஅப்பாலசைவசிததா
னததிஅப்பாதீட்சதாவயிஷ்ணர் அய்யாதீட்சதாய்யனவர்கள அனேகம்கிறநதஙகளப்
பாத்துசாஸ்த்திரசம்மதிபணணிவிச்சு அப்பாலயேகபாதமூற்த்திதூணைநட்டார்கள்யெ
லலாவலலசிததர் தூணைஅடிக்கிறபோது யெலினசுவாமிகீளேவநதுபாததுக்கொணடி
ருக்கையிலவேலைசெய்யுகுர்சிப்பாசாரி சுமந்திரமூர்ததிஆசாரிக்குதுரைகயயினாலேதா
ம்பூலமடிதது சுருளைகுடுததார்கள வேலைமேலே ஞாபகமாய் அததைவாஙகிதருச்சுக்
கொணடுபார்க்கும்வரையில அபசாரம்வநததுயெனறுஉடனேநடுநடுஙகி அநதரொண
டுவிரலையும்நருக்கிப்போடடானஅவனுக்குநாலுவகைவஸ்ததிரமும்வெகுமதியும்பண
ணிதஙகததினாலேகயயும்பணணிவிச்சார்உருக்கடடையள யெலலாம்சுமநதிர மூறததி
கையவேலையெனறறியவும்-ஸ்ரீமுக -வருஷம்வய்யாசிமீ - வசநதமணடபம்முகிநதது
சுவாமிஆணடவனையெளுநதருளப்பணணி விச்சுநிதம்ஒணணுக்குஆயிரம்பொன்வீதம்
உபசாரஙகளநடப்பிவிச்சுதானததார்பரிசனஙகளசகலததிராளுக்கும்சாதிராசாலவைய

murti-acharya: the king, to do him honor, gave him betel, on which he had himself spread *chunam;* and, by reason of being much occupied in looking after the work, the sculptor took it and disrespectfully* put it into his mouth before the king; when, a moment after, recollecting that he had acted improperly, he became inwardly afraid, and with an instrument cut off the two fingers with which he had conveyed the betel-leaf, &c. to his mouth. But the king bestowed on him four kinds of dresses; and had a hand made of gold, which he also gave to him. The whole of the sculptures on these pillars are the work of this *Sumantira-murti-acharya.*

The *Vasanta-Mandabam* was finished in the month called *Vyasi,* of *Strimuga* year. The god being made to be pleased to ascend thither, a daily expense (during this feast of dedication) of one thousand *puns* was appointed; and presents were made to the officiating Bramins, and to all the temple servants.† These presents consisted of valuable woollen cloths, of shawls, and of four kinds of gold ornaments: and the king himself bound a fillet‡ of cloth around his temples; and he caused the *Vasanta-Mandabam* to be lined with cloth for the occasion, and the pillars also to be so covered. Besides, he designed to enclose the street in which the public procession is made in the month of August with a wall, that so it might be included within the limits of the temple. In the *Nandana* year, from *Utatur* (on the north) even to *Canya Cumari* (Cape Comorin), in all the *Saiva* and *Vaishanava* temples he commenced the building of sixty-four towers (over the temple porches) all at the same instant of time. In some places the outward finishing of the plaister figure-work was left undone. (As this deficiency arose from want of money,) the god, in the form of a *Sittar,* appeared to the king in a dream by night, and gave to him the *guru-senturam* (or red powder of projection), by means of which, on the following

* It is work of a wife or servant to spread *chunam* on a betel-leaf, and give it to the husband or master. If a superior spread the *chunam* and present it to an inferior, it is considered a distinguished mark of favor; but then the inferior, by the established rule, must retire a little on one side and put the leaf into his mouth. To take it immediately, and abruptly, is an act of disrespect and incivility.

† *Parisanangal* (பரிசனஙகள), exactly corresponding with the *Nethinims* of the ancient Jewish temple.

‡ *Sathirapari-vattam* (சாதிராபரிவடடம்), an emblem of royal dignity: as customary among more ancient nations.

ளதாலுவகை ஆபறணாதியளும் வெகுமதிபணணிவிச்சுதாமும் சாதிராபரிவடடமும்கட
டிகொணடார்கள வசநதமணடபததுக்கு சுததிகவுசனை போடடுதூணுக்கு யெலலாம்
தூள அடையாமலகவுசனை போடடியிருக்கும் ஆவணிமூலவீதியைச்சுததிதிருமதிளும்க
ட்டிவிச்சுமணடபததைஆலயததுக்குள்ளேஆக்கவேணுமென றுமுகீர்த்தம்பண்ணினா
ர்களநநதனவருஷம்சிவாலையம் விஷ்ணுஆலையம்இதுகளிலே யெலலாம்உளடடததூர்
முதலகனனியாகுமரிவரைக்கும்தம்முடையபேராலேஅறுபததிநாலுகோபுரததுக்கு
வேலைநடப்பிவிக்கச்சொலலியேகமுகீறததததில முகீறததம்பணணிவிச்சுசிருதுயிடத
திலக்கலகாரை வேலைஅரிதியில நிணணுதுமகததாயியதறம்மவானெனபதாயிசிததரூப
மாயியெழுநதருளி சொறப்பனததிலாசவாத ததுக்குகுருசெநதூர்மும்குடுததஅது
னாலேவா தசிததியாயிவசநதமணடபததுக்குதஙகமலாமும்பணணிவிச்சதுணடு ஸ்ரீமு
க-வருஷம்தைய௴-மய்யமணடபததுக்குசரியாய்தெப்பம்உணடுபணணிவிச்சுஅநத
உச்சவததுக்காகதிடியனபுததூர்சீமைபதினாயிரம்பொனசீமையும்விடடுக்குடுததார்க
ளபுராணசிததமாயிருக்கபடடலீலாவிநோதம் அய்யாதீடசதர்சொலபடியெலலாம்ஷ
தானிகாளிடமாய்செய்விக்கச்சொலலியும்ஆவணிமூல உச்சவமும்சயிததிர உச்சவமும்
தைய்௴-உச்சவமும்வய்யாசி௴-வசநதஉச்சவமும்உணடுபணணி விச்சார்கள அப்பா
லகோவிலபூசை உச்சவாதியளசகலமும்பிறபலமாகி வெகுவிமரிசையான படியினாலே
செங்கோல்உச்சவமூறததியிடமாய்வாஙகிவநதார்கள தம்மிடபேராலெஅரமனைகட்ட
ச்சொலலிஅதறக்கும்மணடபததுடனே கூடமுகீறததம்பணணிவிச்சுபவ-வருஷம்சி
ததிரை௴-புதுசாய்கட்டினஅரமனையிலகிறகப்பிரவேசம்பணணினார்கள தெப்பஉச்ச
வம்பார்ப்பதறக்கும் அளகர்திருனாளவேடிக்கைபார்ப்பதறக்கும்அநதப்புரததுஸ்ரீய
ளுடனேவநதிருநது வேடிக்கைபார்க்குறததுக்கு ஆகசெச்சையுஙகடடி அருவாச்சுது
மாசிவீதியிலசுவாமிவநதாலதெரிசனம்பணணுகுறதுக்காகசெச்சையுஙகடடினார்களதி
ருப்புரஙகுனறம் முதலஷிதலாநதிரஙகளுக்கெலலாம் உச்சவஙகளுக்குதெரிசனம்பண
ணசெச்சையுஙகடடினார்கள உளட்டததூர்முதலகனனியாகுமரிவரைக்கும் இளப்பாற
அஞ்சுனாளிகைவழிக்கிஒரு அரமனைவீதம்கடடினதுணடு அநதமூனனுக்கு மதுரையில

day, common metals were transmuted into gold; and with this the *Vasanta-Mandabam* was gilded. In *Tai* month of *Strimugam* year a *Mandabam* in the *Terpa-kulam*, exactly on the model of that in the *Vasanta-Mandabam*, was completed. For the expense of the *Terpa-kulam* festival he endowed it with the revenue of the *Tediyen-Puttur* village, amounting annually to ten thousand *puns*. Besides, agreeably to the declaration of *Ayya-Tidchitar*, (a Bramin versed in ancient learning,) the king commanded that the celebration of all the sacred amusements of the god should be conducted by the temple attendants according to the ordinances of the ancient books. He established the August procession, the April procession, the January procession, and the *Vasanta* festival of the month of May. Besides, he caused the various processions, which at frequent returns of certain seasons are made within the enclosure of the temple, to be conducted with becoming decency. In consequence of these acts, he received the sceptre as coming from the hand of the image (or god). He next gave instructions to erect a palace bearing his name, which, together with the great hall of audience, was begun; and in the *Sittari* month of *Bava* year the ceremony of entering to reside in the new palace was performed: and that the females belonging to the palace might view the two processions, of the *Terpa-kulam* and that of *Alagar*, he built an elevated terrace within the boundary of the palace, also another terrace, that they might see the procession carried on in the street named *Masi*, with a third terrace, that they might see the processions from *Tirupurang-kundram*, and other places. He also built public choultries, as resting places for travellers, from *Utatur* to *Canya Cumari*, at the distance from each other of five Indian (or about seven English) miles. At nearly the same time he established in the town of Madura combats between gladiators and elephants, tigers, and bears; and for the purpose of looking on during this spectacle, he had a two-storied building constructed, in an excellent manner, in a place named *Tamakam-pottal*. From that time forwards the Carnataca governors always came hither to see the spectacle. Their * charities, or public benefactions, the repairs and ornaments of

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* It is somewhat difficult to determine whether *Tirumala-Naicker* is referred to in the customary plural mode of rendering honor, or the Carnataca rulers collectively: the translation which seems to be required by the foregoing sentence is given.

ஆனையள புலியளகரடியளுடனே மலலகசெடடியளைவிடடுசணடை பணணச்சொலவி
அநதவேடிக்கைபார்ப்பதறக்குஆகதமுக்கம்பொடடவிலஉப்பரிக்கை உனனிதமாய்க
டடிஅதிலயிருநதுவேடிக்கைப்பார்ததுஉணடுஅதுமுதலகறனாடகதுரையள யெலலா
ம்அப்படியேவேடிக்கைப்பார்ததுவநதார்களஅவர்கள ராசரிக்கம்பணணுகையிலநட
ப்பிவிச்சதர்ம்மஙகளும்திருப்பணிதிருவாபறணஙகள கோவிலப்பூசைக்கும்விடடுகுடு
த்தகிராமஙகளுக்கும் ஸ்தானீகாள்முதலான பேருக்கும்சீவனததுக்கு விடடுகுடுததகி
ராமஙகளுக்கும் கணக்குணடுரெணடுகோவிலுக்கும் பர்தேசிமுததிரா அவிஷேகபண
டார்மிடமாய் விசார்ணை நடநதுவருஙகாலததில அம்மன மீனாட்சி அஞசுவயசு பெண்
போலேபோய்சொறப்பன்ம்உணடாய் நம்மைவிசாரிக்கவிலலையெனறு கேளக்குமிட
ததிலஉடனே மருனாளபணடார்ததை வர்வளைதது அனுகூலப்படுததி விசசுக்கொணடு
அம்மனகோவிலமுசகுடும்அவிஷேகநெவெதனம்திருமாலைதிருவிளக்குநிததிய உபசா
ர்மெலலாம்பகிததியாய் நாமேநடப்பி விக்கிரோம் யெனறுயேததுக் கொணடு தம்மு
டையபேராலேஅர்க்கடடளை தர்மம்யீசுர் - வருஷம்தைய்௴ ௧௨ - மகாசஙகார்நதியில
நெய்விளக்காயி மகன பூவணனாத பணடார்ததைவிசார்ணைக்கிநேமுகம் பணணிபனனீ
ராயிரம்பொன்சீமையும்விடடுக்குடுததார்களஅதுமுதலகடடளைதர்மம்நடநதுவருகு
துவசநதமணடபததிலமுதல வருஷம்பரிவடடம் முதலானமரியாதியள யெலலாம்தா
மேநடப்பி விசசுக்கொணடார்கள மருவருஷம்ஸ்தானீகாளை ப்பாதது இனிமேலசகல
மானமரியாதியளும் சிலாசுரூபியாயிருக்கும் தமக்குநடப்பிவிசசு வர்சசொலவிஉததர்
வாசசுது அதுமுதல அப்படியேநடநதுவருகுதுஇப்படி நீதியாயவிளம்பி-வருஷம்மா
சி௴ ௭௨ வரைக்கும்ராசரிக்கம்பணணினார்களகோவிலப்பிறபலமானதுயெலலாம்திரு
மலைசவுரிநாளையிலேயெனறுஅரிஞசுகொளளவும்சேகாபுததம் - ௲௫௱௮௰-க்கு மேல
செலலாதினற....

temples, the villages given in endowment for conducting the temple worship, and those given in endowment for the support of the attendant and officiating Bramins, while they ruled the kingdom, are matters of record still preserved. While the secular concerns of the two temples were under the management of *Paradesi-muttirai-abeshega-Pandaram*, the goddess *Minatchi*, in appearance like a child of five years old, appeared to the king in a dream, and said, "There is no care of me;"* to which remonstrance the king attended by summoning the *Pandaram* on the following day; and, speaking peaceably and mildly to him, said, "For the future, we ourselves will piously undertake the anointing, the purveying of offerings of food to the god, the robing the image with garlands of flowers, the lighting of the sacred lamps, and the whole of the daily duties, throughout the temple:" and thus he assumed the whole† (giving the *Pandaram* thereby a dismissal). Having assumed the management, he provided especially for the apartment appropriated to the temple-goddess, by endowing it with land, yielding revenue to the annual amount of twelve thousand *puns;* and from first day of *Tai* month of *Isvara* year, on the *Magara-Sangranthi*, (or *Pongal* feast,) he gave up the charge of purveyor to *Puvennatha-Pandaram*, the son of the hereditary female lamp-lighter‡ in the temple. From that time the appointed charities were regularly conducted. On the first year, when the festival of the *Vasanta Mandabam* was finished, the king permitted the ceremony of investing him with a royal fillet, and putting over him a garland of flowers taken from the image; but in following years, he declined the honor, and directed that the ceremony should be transferred to the sculptured image of himself on one of the pillars of the *Mandabam.* From that time forwards it was so conducted. In this manner he ruled with justice down to the 7th of *Masi* of *Vilambi* year. Let it be known that the whole of the splendor of the temple is to be attributed to the illustrious *Tirumali.* In the year of *Salivahana Sagartam* 1580. . . . .

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* This amounted to a complaint, either against the king or his manager the *Pandaram*. The temple allowances being stinted, one of them must be to blame.

† To punish such a manager is esteemed a great sin; and an arrest would suspend the whole temple order and daily expenditure. He must also of necessity be master of many temple secrets. Hence the Bramins have taken care to surround his person with a rampart of prejudices which even a king dare not assault.

‡ *Neyvelakayi* (நெயவிளக்காய) an office going by descent.

பெரியஅர்மனைக்கர்த்தாக்கள் திருமலைணாயக்கர்வர்கள் அர்மனையிருக்குறநிதானம்.

ஆசாறமுகப்புஇசானனியபாகததிலஇப்போதயிருக்குறசெச்சையுடனேகூடப
ததததூண்நடடுயிருக்குறதுக்கும்கிளக்குபெரியஆசாறமுகப்பு ஆகயிருநதயிடம்அந
தயிடததிலபதினெடடுவிதமானவாததியகொஷமபணணுகுறதுபினனும் அதறக்கும்கி
ளக்காசுதணடியிலபலலாக்குமுதலானதுகளும்வயிததுயிருக்குறதுமேறபடிபததுததூ
ணுக்கும்மொக்குரெஙகவிலாசம்தொடடிகடடு-க-அதறக்குவாயுவுமூலையிலசநதிரிகை
மேடை-க-அதைசசுததிவரதொடடிக்கடடுக்கும் முடமுமாகயிருக்கும்அதினவடக்கு
வாசலக்காவலராசாக்கள யிருக்குறயிடம் பினனும்அனேகம்பிருதுகள ஆயுதஙகளும்
வக்கிறயிடம்ரெஙகவிலாசததுக்குமேறக்குஅநதப்புரம்தொடடிகடடு-க-மேறபடிரெ
ஙகவிலாசததுதெறக்குநிருதிமூலையிலராசராசெசசுவரிமுதலானதேபூசைஸதானமாகி
யதொடடிகடடில ஒணணிலபூர்வமுகமாககருஙகலக்கோவில-க-முனபாகமேறபடிசவு
க்கை-க-யிதலலாமலகருஙகலவேலைப்பணிகளும்உணடுரெஙகவிலாசததுக்குக்கிளக்கு
முகம்கருஙகலவேலைப்பணிகளும்சவுக்கைகளும்முததவெளியும்சிஙகாரமமுதலானஅ
லஙகாரஙகளுடனேகூட முனனுதாகசெயததுரையவர்களயிருநததேபூசைகோவிலு
க்குமுன்னுதாகநீராவியுமகுமமுடடுமஉததியாவனமமுதலானசிஙகாரஙகளுடனேயி
ருநததுஇதினதெனமேறக்குகிளக்குமேறக்குநீளமாகயிருக்குறநாடகசாலை-க-அதி
லசாயநதிர்வேளையிலதீவடடிகோலுவினாலே நாடகசாலைபெண்களுடனேநாடடியஙக
ளதமக்குயிட்டமாயிருக்குறபேர்களுடனேயிருநது தினமதோருமசாயரெடசையில
கொலுவிருக்குறயிடமஅதிலமேறக்காகயிருக்கிறபெரியகுமமிடததினமததியிலகருஙக
ல்சவுக்கை-க-அதினதெறக்குசொறக்கவிலாசம-க- இநதஅர்மனையிலயிருக்குறசிஙகா
ரஙகளும உனனததிலும விஸதாரததிலும் நீளததிலும்வேலைப்பாடுகளிலுமவெகுவி
னோதமாகயிருக்குறதிலுமதேசதேசாநதிரஙகளிலுமயிநதவேலைகளுக்குசமானமஒரு
யிடததிலுமயிலலையெனறுசொலலுமபடியாகயிருக்குறசொறக்கவிலாசமதொடடிகட
டு-க- அதிலமேறக்காகநடுவில பெரியகுமமிடததிலநடுவேகருஙகலக்கலசசவிக்கையின
பேரிலதெநததினாலசெயதசுர்லையிலர்ததினசிமமாசனததினபேரிலநவராததிரைக்கு

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PALACE OF *TIRUMALI-NAICKER*, ONE OF THE GREAT PALACE LORDS.

At the entrance of the palace on the north-east side there are ten pillars; to the east of which is the great entrance. In that porch there are players on eighteen different kinds of musical instruments. Further to the east, the palanquin of ceremony, common palanquins, and other conveyances, are kept. To the west of the aforesaid ten pillars is a circular hall, called *Ranga-vilasam* (the *Vishnu*-pavilion); to the north-west of which is an elevated seat, or cool terrace. Around that is a circular building, rising in the shape of a pointed dome. To the north of that is the place for captive kings: in it there are many guns and arms. To the west of the *Ranga-vilasam* is a circular building, being the female apartments. To the south of the *Ranga-vilasam,* on the south-west quarter, is a circular building set apart for religious worship; in which there is a small shrine built of black stone: in front of which is a small square entrance-hall; it is built of black stone. To the east of the *Ranga-vilasam,* there are works in black stone, square halls, enclosures open at the top, with various ornamental appendages standing forth in front; and facing the before-mentioned shrine, are a bathing-place, dome-shaped, and an artificially arranged garden. To the south-west of this place is the avenue for dancers, extending in an easterly and westerly direction. In that place the king is accustomed to sit down and converse with the ministers or others, his favorites, in the evening; when flambeaus are lighted up * in the avenue at the time of homage, and when female dancers exhibit their skill before the courtiers. To the west of that avenue is a very large dome-shaped building, in the centre of which is a square hall of black stone. To the south of this is the *Swerga-vilasam* (*Indra*-pavilion). This pavilion is so constructed, as to cause it to be said that in no other country is there a saloon equal to it, on account of its splendid ornaments, their excellence, number, extent, curious workmanship, and great beauty. To the

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* In purely native Hindu courts, the ceremony of homage at the lighting of the lamps is said to have been never omitted, unless the king were sick; and then not to have made the *Divatti-salam* was the same thing as to announce the king's illness. The ceremony is otherwise called *Divatti-koluttu* and *Divatti-vandanam:* two or three persons perform various evolutions of double torches in approaching towards the king; they then make their obeisance, in which all others present join.

ரட்சாபநதனமசெயதுகொணடுச்கலவிருதுகளுடனேயுமசகலராசாக்களுமவநதுப்ப
ணியதக்கதாககொலுவுயிருக்குறயிடம அதினவடக்குமதெறக்கும மேறக்குமமூணுகு
ம்மிடததிலுமமூணு கருஙகலசவுக்கைநடுமுதத வெளிக்கிரெணடுபக்கததிலும்ரெணடு
குதிரைபடடியுடனேகூடரெணடுசாலைப்பொக்கானசவுக்கை-உ-இதறக்குவளியீசான
னியபாகததிலஆசாறததுக்குயெதிராகயிருக்கும்இதறக்குமேலதளததுக்குபோறவளிக
ணனிமூலையிலஅதினமேலேஉசறவநதுஅநதபுறததுஸ்ரீயளுடனேகூடசுவாமியெழுந
தருளிவருகுறபோது தெரிசனம்பணணுகுறது அதறக்குமுனனுதாகநடுவேசாலையும்
ரெணடுபாரசததிலும்ரெணடுசிகறமும்அலஙகாறமாகசொறனனகலசஙகளுடனேசெ
யதுயிருநதது ரெஙகவிலாசமதேபூசைகோவிலநாடகசாலை விலாசததுக்கும்சொறன
னகலசம்வயததுயிருநதது சொறக்கவிலாததுக்குமேறக்குரெணடுகருஙகலதொடடிக
டடுவெகுவிசிததிர்மாகயிருக்கிறதிலபடடஸ்ரீயும்மதத அநதப்புறததுஸ்ரீகளும்சஙகீத
சாபுத்தியஙகள கேடடுகொணடியிருக்கிறயிடம்அதிலகருஙகலச்சவுக்கைகளும்தாளுவர்
னனவேலைகளும்உணடுயிதினமேறக்குஆயுதசாலைஅதினவடக்குவசநதவாபிஅதைசுததி
வர்கும்மிடம்வெகுசிஙகாறமாகயிருக்கும் மலலகசெடடியளஉயிததம்பாறக்குறயிடம்
ஆடடுக்கிடாய்முதலானதும்யிவளவும்வேடிக்கைவினோதமாயிருக்கிறதுவடக்குஅதின
மேறக்குஅவர்களுக்குயிடடமாயிருக்குறபெநதுக்களும்அவர்களுடையவமுசததாரு
ம்யிருக்கிறதறக்காககும் மிடஙகும்மிடமாகதொடடி கடடாகவெகுவாகஅர்மனையிருந
துதுஅதுவெலலாததையும்சுததிவர்அக்கினிமூலையிலயிருநதுதுயீசானனியமூசெச்சை
வரையிலபாரிமதிள-க-அநதபாரிசிவருக்குவெளியிலநிருதிமூலையிலவெகுசிஙகாறமாக
அனேகபுஷ்பசாதிகளவயதது யிருக்குறசிஙகாறதோப்பு-க-அதிலும்அநதப்புர்தது
ஸ்ரீயளுடனேகூடசம்பிராமாகஇருக்குரதறக்குஅதிநடுவேயிருக்குறகும்மிடமும்தொ
டடிக்கடடும்முததவெளியும்வாவியும்கருஙகலசவுக்கையுமாகயிருநதது ரெஙகவிலாச்
ததிலதிருமலைனாயக்கர்வர்களுடையதம்பியாயசினனதுரையாயிருக்குற முததுலனாயக்
கர்வர்களஅநதப்புறததுஸ்ரீயளுடக்ஷனேகூடரெஙகவிலாச்சததிலயி ருநதார்கள.

west, in the midst of a great dome-shaped hall, is a square building of black stone, which includes a hall made of ivory: in the middle of this is a jewelled throne, on which the king is accustomed to take his seat at the great *Navu-rattiri* festival, surrounded by all his banners, or ensigns of royalty; and where also all kings are accustomed to do homage. At that festival the *Retsha-bandam*,† (or amulet,) is put on by the king. To the north, the west, and the south, of this throne-pavilion, are three square halls. In the front of the palace are two roads, adapted for a chariot with two horses, which lead out of the entrance on the north-west side. From this quarter is the ascent to the upper apartment, where there is a terrace, with two ornamental and gilded minarets, on either hand; to which terrace the females of the palace proceed in order to look on, at the times of the public processions of the god. There are also gilded minarets to the *Ranga-vilasam*, to the shrine and hall set apart for religious service, to the avenue of dancers, and to the *Swerga-vilasam*. To the west of the last-mentioned pavilion are two halls of black stone, of very curious workmanship, in which the royal queens, and other females of the palace, listen to the chanting of poetical performances. In these two halls are various recesses, of sculptured black stone, curiously carved. To the west of this is the arsenal. To the north of that is the reservoir of water for bathing. The dome-shaped building around it is very splendid. On the north is the arena for the combat of gladiators with different kinds of animals. Various pavilions and buildings, to a great extent, are on the westward of the arena, for the purpose of allowing the favorites or relatives of the king, and their dependents, to look on at the spectacle. From the south-east quarter round to the north-west is a large outward wall. Outside of that high wall, on the south-east, a flower garden. In the midst of this garden various buildings were made for the convenience of the king, and the inmates of his palace. In the *Ranga-vilasam* the younger brother of *Tiru-mali-Naicker*, named *Muttula-Naicker*, the second in the government, also resided.

* The Bramins during the festival have to watch and fast; and, with attendant ceremonies, a thin *chakram*, either wheel or square of gold, has written on it, in its various compartments, certain mystical or astrological words or figures: the plate is then rolled up, inclosed in a small case, and tied to the arm or wrist, or suspended on the breast. It was supposed to convey to the king protection from enemies; dread and honor from subjects.

கறனாடகததிலதிருமலைநாயக்கரவர்களநாளையில்பாணடிய சமஷததானததுக்கும்கோடடைக்கும்காவலாக கொததளம்யெளுபததிரணடுக்கும் காவலாகநேமுகம்செயதடப்பை-௭௰௨-பாளையப்படடும்வகை.

மலையாளம்நாஞ்சிநாடடுராசா. குமாரவர்கததில ராமனாதபுரம்சேதுபதி. சிவகெஙகைஉடையாததேவர். புதுக்கோடடைத தொணடமானார். ஆகசமஷிததானம்-௩.. பாளையப்படடுவகைக்கு. ஆயலூர்நயினார். துரையூர்ரெடடியார். இலுப்பூர்காமயனாயக்கன. குளததூர்ராமசாமி தொணடமான. கததலூர் பெடும்பூர்தீததருடடிததேவன். மணப்பாறைததாலூகாவில்ச்சேர்நதது. மருஙகாபூரிபூச்சினாயக்கன். நததமலிஙகமனாயக்கன். லக்கயனாயக்கன். வீரனூர்கம்பினாயக்கன். தோகைமலைவசுப்பனாயக்கன். பிளளைமுனாஙகிமூறததிநாயக்கன். ராமகிரிசாமினாயக்கன். வீரமலைப்பாளையம் காமயனாயக்கன். திணடுக்கல்தாலூகாவில் சேர்நதது. பளளிசெனனமனாயக்கன். விருப்பாச்சிகனனிவாடிஆயக்குடிகொணடமாம்பாறைனாயக்கன். இடையகோடடைஆயலூர்வலலக்கொணடமனாயக்கன். மடூர்னாயக்கன். கொஙகராயன்கோடடைவாலமூர்ததினாயக்கன். மருனூததுயெமுக்களாபுரம்தபசிமடை ஆம்மயனாயக்கன். கூளப்பனாயக்கன். கொப்பயனாயக்கன். தொடடயன்கோடடை திருமலைகணட னாயக்கன். திருமலைபோடினாயக்கன். பூசாரினாயக்கன். பெரியகுளம்ராமபததிரனாயக்கன். அப்பாச்சிக்கவணடன். தேவராததான். கம்பஙகூடலூர்ராசாக்கள. இரச்சக்கனாயக்கன். மதுரைப்பாளையப்படடுவாக்காமனாயக்கன். உததப்பனாயக்கன். தொடடப்பனாயக்கன். கவணடன்கோடடைவெள்ளியக்குணடம்சிறுபாலகச்சைகட்டிகாமயனாயக்கன். மதவானாயக்கன். திருநெலவேலிபாளையப்பட்டுயெளாயிரம்பணணைஆணடுகொணடவனனியனார். யெடடயபுரம்எட்டப்பனாயக்கன். பாஞ்சாலஙகுறிச்சிகட்டபொம்மனாயக்கன். சிவகிரிவாகுணராமவனனியனார். சேததூர்திருவணாத்தேவர். கொலலராயடிகலஙகானாயக்கன். நாகலாபுரம்இரவப்பனாயக்கன். ஊளததுமலைமருதப்புதேவர். குருக்குவெடடிஅளகத்தேவன். மணியாச்சிசொக்கன்படடி. சுரணடைநடுவக்குறிச்சி. தலை

A LIST OF THE SEVENTY-TWO *PALLIYAMS* APPOINTED TO GUARD THE BASTIONS OF THE PANDION CAPITAL.

As they were in the time of the Carnataca (prince) Tirumali-Naicker.

Maliyalam, Nanchi-nattu-raja. The Ramnad Sethupathi. Udiyat-dever of Sivaganga. The Tondaman of New Fort, (Puthu-kottai). These three last are like adopted children of the Madura government. In all four capital towns.

THE LIST OF THE PALLIYAMS.

Ayalur, Nainar; ———. Turaiyur, Rettiyar; ———. Ilupur; Camaya-naicken. Kulattur; Rama-sami-tondaman. Kattalur Pedambur; Titta-kutti-deven.

ATTACHED TO THE MANAPAR TALUK.

Marangapuri; Puchi-naicken. Nattam; Lingama-naicken. ———; Leckiya-naicken. ———; Viranar-kami-naicken. Togei-mali; Vasuvapa-naicken. ———; Pillay-mulungi-murti-naicken. Rama-giri; Sami-naicken. Viramali palleyam; Kamiya-naicken.

ATTACHED TO THE DINDIGAL TALUK.

———; Palli-chennama-naicken. Virupachi, Rannivadi, Ayakudi; Mainpari-naicken. Ideiya-kottai, Ayalur; Vala-kondama-naicken. Madavur; ———naicken. Kongarayen-kottai; Vala-murti-naicken. Maruluttu; Amiya-naicken. Yema-cala-puram; Kulapa-naicken. Tavasi-madei; Kopaiya-naicken. Tottiyen-kottai; Tirumali-kanda-naicken. ———; Tirumali-bodei-naicken. ———; Pujari-naicken. Periya-kullam; Ramabudra-naicken. ———; Appachi-cavanden. ———; Deverattan.

CAMBAN GUDALUR RAJAS.

———; Iracheka-naicken. Mathurai-palliya-pattu. Vacama-naicken. ———; Uttapa-naicken. ———; Dottapa-naicken. Cavandan-kottai, Velleiya-kundam; Kacha-katti Camaya-naicken. Siru-vali; Mathava-naicken. ———; Vanniyanar, who ruled a *palliyam* of seven thousand cawnies of land in the Tinnevelly country. Yettaya-buram; Yettapa-naicken. Panjalam-curuchi; Cata-bomanaicken. Sivagiri; Varaguna-rama-vanniyar. Seyattur;

வன்கோடடை கொலலபடடி. கொலலங கொணடன். சிஙகாமபட்டி. நொக்கட்டான் செவவல்; உளாக்காடு. கடம்பூர். காடலகுடி. விரசிலப்படடி. களததூர். மேமா நதை. மாவிலோடை: ஆலஙகுளம். செனனிலைக்குடி: பாவாலி. மூவரையன். தும்பிச்சிஞயக்கன். சாமிஞயக்கன். கூளப்பஞயக்கன். யெருமடை. மனஞர்கோட்டை. ஆததானகரைபெததளிஞயக்கன். அளகாபுரிசெட்டைக்குடை வனனியன். சோயம் புததூருடனே சேர்நதது. தளி பெதது ஞயக்கன். சேலததுடனே சேர்நதது. தலமலை ராம சநதிரஞயக்கன். தாராமஙகலம் கெட்டி முதலியார். ஆகயிவளவுபாளையப்பட்டுகளும் மதுரைதிருசிரபுரம் சமஷிததானததில ச்சேர்நதது: மனனிமைப்பாளையப்பட்டு. குறுவிக்குளம்பெம்மசானி பெரியவீரப்பஞயக்கன். யெளம்பரமாரவலலரவணப்பஞயக்கன். ராசாப்பாளையம்ராசாக்கள். நெடுவயலஅளகிரி ஞயக்கன். கரிப்பட்டுபொம்மிஞயக்கன். கர்ஞடக துரைகளமதுரைதிரிசுரபுர்ததிவிறுநதுராச்சியம்ஆணடுவறுகையிலகணவாயக்குள்ளே ஆளப்பட்டகெடியளுக்குவிபரம்.

திணடுக்கலக்கோட்டை. தாராபுரம்கோட்டை. கொயம்புததூர் கோட்டை. தணையஞயக்கன் கோட்டை. சததிய மஙகலம் கோட்டை. அநதியூர்கோட்டை. இரோடு கோட்டை. காஙகையன் கோட்டை. விசைய நகரம்கோட்டை. கருவூர் கோட்டை. நாமக்கல கோட்டை. சேநத மஙகலங கோட்டை. பெரிய சேலம் கோட்டை. மேலூர் கோட்டை. சாமபளளிக்கோட்டை: காவேரி பூஙகோட்டை. ஆததூர்க்கோட்டை. ஆனநதகிரிக்கோட்டை. மாமததிக்கோட்டை. ஆர்வக்குறிச்சிக்கோட்டை. முகலூர் கோட்டை. சக்ககிரி கோட்டை. செகமகிரி கோட்டை. பீடுமலையுடனேசேர்நதது. நெடுவயன்அளகாததிரிஞயக்கன். கெசிசப்பட்டுபொம்மஞயக்கன். ஆகப்பாளையப்பட்டு-உ.

Tiruvanat-dever. Kolarayadi; Kalanga-naicken. Nagalapuram; Iravapa-naicken. Uttu-mali; Marathapa-dever. Kuruku-vatti; Alaga-deven. Maniyachi-sokanpatti; ———. Surandai-naduvu-curuchi; ———. Taliven-kottai; ———. Kola-patti; ———. Kolang-kondan; ———. Singampatti; ———. Nokattan-chevel; ———. Urkadu; ———. Kadambur; ———. Kadal-kudi; ———. Virasila-patti; ———. Kalattur; ———. Memandai; ———. Mavilodai; ———. Alang-kollam; ———. Senilei-kudi; ———. Bavali; Muvariyen. ———; Dumbichi-naicken. ———; Sami-naicken. ———; Kulapa-naicken. Yeramadai; ———. Manarkottai; ———. Attankarei; Pettali-naicken. Alagapuri; Retta-kudi-vaniyen.

ATTACHED TO KOYAMBUTUR.

———; Taliyetta-naicken.

ATTACHED TO THE SALEM DISTRICT.

Talamalei; Ramachandra-naicken. Taramangalam; Getti-muthaliar.

The whole of these *palliyams*, or districts, belong to the Madura and Trichinopoly capital.

THE MANNIMAI PALLIYAM.

Kuruvi-kulam, Bemmasani, Periya-virapa-naicken, Yelambaram, Maravala-ravanapa-naicken.

THE RULERS OF THE RAJA PALLIYAM.

Nedu-vayal, Alagiri-Naicken, Kari-pattu, Bomi-naicken.

THE DETAIL OF THE CHIEF TOWNS, OR FORTIFIED PLACES, BUILT IN THE PASSES OF MOUNTAINS, WHILE THE CARNATACA LORDS RULED IN MADURA AND TRICHINOPOLY.

The forts of, Dindigal, Taraburam, Koyambutur (Coimbatore), Tanaya-naicken, Sattiya-mangalam, Andiyur, Irodu, Kangaiyan, Vijianagaram, Caruvur (Caroor), Namakal, Shentamangalam, Periya-Shelam (Salem), Melur (Mellore), Jamapalli, Caveripum, Attur, Ananta-giri, Mamatti, Arva-curuchi, Mugalur, Jaga-giri, Jega-ma-giri.

ATTACHED TO BEDU-MALI.

Nedu-vayen; Alagattiri-naicken. Gerisi-pattu; Boma-naicken. In all two *palliyams*.

மதுரைதிருசுரபுர்ததுடனே சேரநதசமஷததானஙகளுர் வகை மலையாளம்நாஞ்சிநாடடுராசா. குமார்வாகதில்ராமனாதபுரம் செதுபதிசிவகெஙகை உடையாதேவர் புதுகோடடை தொணடமானார். ஆக சமஷததானம்-௪- பாளையபபடடுவகையிரா. அரியலூர்நயினார். துறையூர்ரெடடியார். இலுப்பூர்காமச்சினாயக்கன். குளததூர்ராமசாமி தொணடமானார். கததலூர் பெரும்பூர். தீர்ததக்குடடி தேவன் மனபாறை தாலுகாவில சேரநதது. மருஙகாபுரிபூச்சினாயக்கன். நததமலிஙகம்னாயக்கன். லக்கயநாயக்கன். மடுவூர்னாயக்கன்' தொகைமலைனாயக்கன்' பிளளைமுளிஙகிமுததி னாயக்கன். ராமக்கிரி சாமினாயக்கன். திணடுகல தாலுகாவில சேரநதது, பளணி, விருப்பாச்சி. ஆயக்குடி. மாம்பாறை. இடையகோடடை. ஆயிலூர் வலலகொணடம னாயக்கன். மடுவூர்னாயக்கன். பாலமுததினாயக்கன். மருனூததுயேழுக்குளாபுரம்தவசிபடை. அமடடாறு. அம்மையனாயக்கன். கூளப்பனாயக்கன். கொப்பினாயக்கன். தொடடயன் கோடடை. திருமலைகணடம னாயக்கன் திருமலைபொடடினாயக்கன். பூசாரினாயக்கன். பெரியக்குளமராமபததிரனாயக்கன் அப்பாச்சிகவணடன். தேவராததான். பூசாரிநாயக்கன். கம்பம்கூடலூர்மதுரைபாளையளபடடுவாக்காமியநாயக்கன். உததப்பனாயக்கன். தொட டப்பனாயக்கன். கவணடன்கோட்டை. வெள்ளியகுண்டம். சிறுபாலை. கச்சைகடடி. திருநெலவேலிபாளையப்படடு. எளாயிரம்பணணை. யெடடியாபுரம். பாஞுசாலன்குறிச்சி. சிவகிரி. சேததூறு. கோலாறுபடடி. நாகாலாபுரம். உளததுமலைகுருக்கவெடடி அள்கதேவன். மணியாச்சி. சொக்கனபடடி. சுர்ணடை. நடுவுகுறிச்சி. தலைவன் கோடடை. கொலலபடடி. சிஙகன்படடி. நெய கொடடானசெவல. உளாகாடு. கடம்பூரு. காடலகுடி. குளததூறு. மெமநதைமாவிலலோடை. அறுஙகொளம். செனனலகுடி. பாவாலி. தும்பிச்சினாயக்கன் காமினாயக்கன். கூளப்பனாயக்கன். எறுமடை. மனனாகோடடை. ஆததான்கரைப்பததளினாயக்கன். அளகாபூரிரெடடைகுடைவனனியன். கொயம்பூததூறுடனேசேரநதது. தளியேததறுளனாயக்கன். சேலததுடனேசேரநதது. தலைமலை

The following MS. appears very much like a duplicate of the foregoing one; yet has some variations. Both being compared together may be acceptable, as a sort of *Cadran*, or as a synopsis, of these chiefs and their towns; seeing that they were of so much importance in the affairs of the Madura country, both at the time referred to, and at subsequent periods.

These MSS. are not in themselves perfectly perspicuous: but it is believed, not without very considerable reason, that materials exist among the Mackenzie collection of MSS. for full elucidations of the history of several of these Hindu feudal chieftains.

THE LIST OF THE COUNTRIES, OR DISTRICTS, CONNECTED WITH MADURA AND TRICHINOPOLY.

The Maliyalam country, under the king of the *Nanja-nadu*. Ramnad, under the Sethopathi; like an adopted child (of the Madura king). Sivagangai, under Udia-dever. Puthu-kottai, (or New Fort,) under the Tondaman. Making four principal places.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PALLIYA-CARER (OR FEUDAL CHIEFS).

Ariyalur and Turiyur, chiefs of the Pali caste (a low order of Sudras), who have the titles of Nayanar and Reddiyar. Ilupur; its chief, Camachi-naicker. Kulattur; its chief, Ramasami-Tondamanar. Cattalur-Perembur; its chief, Tirtacutti-deven.

ATTACHED TO THE MANAPAR-TALUK.

Marangapuri; its chief, Buchi-naicken. Nattam; its chiefs, Lingama-naicken, Leckina-naicken, Maduvur-naicken, Toga-mali-naicken, and Pullimurungi-mutti-naicken. Ramagiri; its chief, Sami-naicken.

ATTACHED TO THE DINDIGUL TALUK.

Pazhani, Virupachi, Ayakudi, Mamparai, Idei-kottei, Ayalur, Vali-kondama-naicker, Maduvur-naicken, Pala-mutthu-naicken, Marumuttu, Yemaculapuram, Tavasi-padei, Amartaru, Ammiya-naicken, Kulapa-naicken, Dotiyen fort, Tiru-mali-kandama-naicken, Tirumali-bodei-naicken, Pusari-naicken, Periya-kulam, Rama-budra-naicken, Appachi, Ravanden, Devartaren, Pusari-naicken, Cambam-kudalur.

ATTACHED TO THE MADURA COUNTRY.

Vakami-naicken, Uttapa-naicken, Dodapa-naicken, Kavanden-kottai, Velliya-kundam, Siru-pali, Kacha-kattai.

ராமசநதிரனாயக்கன். தாறாமஙகலம்கெடடிமுதலியார். ஆக இவளவுபாளையபபடடுகளும் மதுரைதிருசர்புரம்சமஷ்ததானததிலசேநதது.

மனனிமை பாளையபபடடு. குருவிகுளம்பொம்மசானி பெரியவீரப் பனாயக்கன் யெளம்பர்ம்ராவலல ரவணப்பனாயக்கன். ரூசானபாளையம்ராசாக்கள,

கர்னாடடகதுரையளமதிரை திரிசர்புரததிலிருநதுஇராச்சிய பரிபாலனம்பணணிக் கொணடுவருகயிலக்கணவாயிக்குகீளேஇவர்களஆளப்படடசீமையிலஇவர்களகடடிவிச் சகெடிததலஙகளுக்குவிபரம்.

திணடுக்கல கோட்டை. தாறாபுரம் கோட்டை. கொயும்புததூர் கோட்டை தணாயக்கன் கோட்டை. சததியமஙகலம் கோட்டை. அநதியூர் கோட்டை ஈரோடு கோட்டை. காயஙகம் கோட்டை. விசைய மஙகலம் கோட்டை. கருவூர் கோட்டை. நாமக்கல கோட்டை. செநதை மஙகலம் கோட்டை. பெரியசேலம் கோடடை. சேமலூர்கோடடை. சஙகைகிரி கோடடை. சாமபளளி கோடடை காவேரிபுரம் கோடடை. ஆததூர்கோடடை. அனநதகிரி கோடடை. பாமததி கோடடை. அறவகுறிச்சிகோடடை. மோகனூர் கோடடை. இவளவும் கர்னாடகதுரையள போடடகோடடைகள்.

ATTACHED TO THE TIRUNELVELI COUNTRY.

Yelayiram-panni, Yettiyar-puram, Panjalam-kuruchi, Siva-giri, Settur, Kolaru-patti, Nagalapuram, Utta-mali, Kuruke-vetti, Alaga-devi-maniyachi, Chokan-patti, Surandei, Nadavu-kuruchi, Taliven-kottai, Kola-patti, Singen-patti, Nekottan-sevel, Urkadu, Kadambur, Kadal-kudei, Kulattur, Memandei, Mavilodei, Aran-kolam, Senel-kudei, Pavali, Tumbichi-naicken, Kami-naicken, Kolapa-naicken, Yettuma-naicken, Mana-kottei, Attankarei-pettali-naicken, Alaga-kudei, Eratta-kudei-vanniyen.

ATTACHED TO KOYAMBUTUR.

Taliyitarul-naicken.

ATTACHED TO SALEM.

Talimali-rama-chandra-naicken, Taramangalam, Getti-muthaliyar.

Thus all these chieftainships are attached to the capitals of Madura with Tirusi-rapuram.

Manimai-pallia-pattu, Kuruvi-kulam, Bemmasani-periya-virapa-naicken, Yelam-param-ravala-ravanapa-naicken, Rajan-palliam-rajakal.

While the Carnataca lords were ruling in Madura and Trichinopoly, in their territories beneath the Ghauts, they built forts, of which the following is a detail.

Dindigul, Tarapuram, Koyambutur, Tanni-naicken, Satyamangalam, Andiyur, Irodu, Kangeiyam, Vijia-mangalam, Karuvur, Namakal, Sentamandalam, Periya-Salem, Semalur, Sangei-giri, Sambali, Caveri-puram, Attur, Ananta-giri, Bramatti, Arangurusi, Mogatur.

These were forts established by the Carnataca lords.

The distinct history of each of these Poligars, with their houses, or families, it is believed would contribute much information with regard to the affairs of the parent, or principal, state. As an exemplification of this remark, we may advert to the genealogical narrative of the house of *Appiya-Naicker*, usually called the Poligar of *Cannivadi;* and not enumerated, so far as we perceive, in the foregoing lists. This narrative is found amongst the Mackenzie papers in charge of the Madras Auxiliary to the Royal Asiatic Society; with the inspection of which the Editor has been most kindly favored. It conveys some further information on a few points that have been already the subjects of annotation. Thus, for instance, the five independent chiefs with whom *Visvanatha-Naicker* waged war are explained to be, not

as we had supposed, five rulers of principalities in the *Sera-Desam* proper; but collateral descendants of the ancient Pandion race, who resisted, and for a length of time successfully resisted, the usurpation, as they would consider it, of the northern lords: they had their chief station at the town called *Kayattur*, and gave themselves the popular title of the *Pancha-Pandiyal*, or *Five Pandavas;* acknowledging no subordination to any other prince. It is added, that *Ariya-nayaga-Muthaliar*, and the Poligars that were with him, were beaten: and that they actually retreated in disgrace to Madura; when *Visvanatha*, with severe reproof, forthwith ordered the troops out of the town, and placed himself momentarily at their head; leading to the result already detailed. But, in addition, it is stated that the second Poligar of *Cannivadi*, son of *Appiya-Naick*, and named *Chinna-Kattir-Naick*, fought against and brought the head of a *Pandiya-Rajah*, who was in Tinnevelly, and is described merely by the title of *Alavar*, or a *ruler*. This circumstance seems to cast a gleam of illustration on a passage in *Marco-Polo*, quoted by D'Anville,* to the effect that the chief of the five kings of *Maabar*, is that of *Var;* most likely a contraction of *Alavar*. We may notice also, in passing, that the title of *Ielne-Var*, which D'Anville says the northern lords of Madura assumed at their inauguration, is pure Telugu; that is, *Yelina-varu*, or Lords, precisely equivalent to the title of *Kartakal*, given to them in all the Tamil manuscripts wherein they are mentioned. But the chief interest of the narrative adverted to, bears on the reign of *Tirumali-Naicker*, and on the section under annotation. We shall introduce an extract from the narrative, slightly corrected in the orthography only, and accompany it with a faithful translation.

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* Geographical Illustration, Sec. 4.

NOTICES OF *NADAKUTALI-CHINNA-KATTIR-NAICKER* AND *RANGANA-NAICKER*, FEUDAL CHIEFTAINS.

His rule (that of *Chinna-Kattir-Naicker*) was thirty-three years. His son was *Nadukatali-Chinna-Kattir-Naicker;* and while he was governing, one *Mukilen,* having assembled some forces, came from Mysore, and sat down before Dindigul. Then the reigning prince of Madura, having called *Nadukatali-Chinna-Kattir-Naicker,* said to him, "Our country from the mountain pass as far as to Dindigul is taken by the Mysoreans, who are now besieging that fortress; and since you are the chief of the eighteen Dindigul Poligars, you will assemble the whole of these, and drive away the Mysoreans, who are now in possession of that province; even until you see them chased back again up the pass: you may then return." Agreeably to these orders, the chief assembled the eighteen Poligars; and, warring against *Mukilen,* drove that army pellmell before him, to some distance beyond the pass: he then restored to good order the whole of the country on this side of the pass, and having done so, proceeded to the Madura lord to give in his report. The prince was much rejoiced; gave (to the Poligar) the charge of Dindigul fort, with a baton of authority; delegating also to him the protection of the country; and surnamed him *Chinna-Mysuran:* after which he gave him dismissal. The chief subsequently returned, and ruled in his own town. The period of his government was twenty-one years.

[His son, *Narsimma-Naicker,** ruled ten years.] His son, *Toppala-Naicker,* ruled forty days. While his son, named *Rangana-Naicker,* was ruling, he cleared the extensive forest lands; built *Alathi-pettai, Silavar-pettai, Sindava-kundu, Calikam-pettai;* and caused these places to be inhabited, and regulated under his authority. In the course of these transactions, when *Deva-Rayer-Udiyar* was reigning in Mysore, one named *Cara-Sura-Nandi-raja,* having descended the pass, with a very large army, took several forts, as far as unto Dindigul.

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* The account of this chief, being local and irrelevant, is omitted.

—— அவர்படடம்வருஷம் -ஈயஈ- அவர்மகனநடுக்குததலைச்சினனக்கதிர்நாய
க்கர்துரைததனஞசெய்துக்கொணடிருக்கிறநாளையில மைசூர்சீர்மையிலிருநது முகில
னெனகிறவனும் சிறுது தளமுஞ சேகரிததுக்கொணடு திணடுக்கலலெநதிறஙகினான்ப்
போதுகர்ததாக்களநடுக்குததலைச்சினனக்கதிர்நாயக்கரைவரவழைதது நம்முடையசீ
ர்மைக்கணவாய் முதலதிணடுக்கலவரைக்கும்மைசூரார் கட்டிக்கொணடுதுர்க்கததின
பேரிலிறஙகி இருக்கிறபடியினாலே திணடுக்கலபதினெட்டுப் பாளையக்காரருக்கும்நீமு
காமாயிருக்கிறபடியினாலேஅவர்களையெலலாரையும்சேர்ததுக்கொணடு துர்க்கததின
பேரிலிறஙகி இருக்கப்பட்டமைசூரார்பாளையததை யெடுபடுததிக்கணவாய்வரைக்கும்
முடுக்கிக்கொணடு போய்விட்டுப்போட்டுவரவேணுமெனறு உததிரவு செய்ததில்அது
வேபிரகாரததுக்குப்பதினெட்டுப்பாளையக்காரரையுஞ சேர்ததுக்கொணடு முகிலன
பேரிலசணடைசெய்துகணவாய்க்கப்புறம்பாளையததைமுடிக்கிவிட்டுப்போட்டுக்கண
வாய்க்கிப்புறமிருக்கப்பட்டசீமையுஞ சுவசப்படுததிக்கொணடுமதுரைக்குக்கர்ததாக
ளிடததுக்குப்போய்ச்சொலலிக்கொணடதில்ரொம்பவுஞசநதோஷப்பட்டுக்கொண
டுதிணடுக்கலகெடியுஙகாவல கொடுததுத்தடிக்கொம்புஆழலூரிலே காவலபூமியுஙகொ
டுததுச்சினனமைசூரானெனறுபேருஙகொடுததனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள.அப்பாலஅவர்ஊ
ரிலவநதுதுரைததனஞசெய்துகொணடிருநதார்அவர்பட்டம்-ஹுஉயக- அவர்மகன
நாரசிம்மநாயக்கர்*****அவர்பட்டம் -ஹுய- அவர்மகனதொப்பளநாயக்கர்நாறப
துநாளதுரைததனஞ்செய்துகொணடிருநதார் (சய-நாள) அவர்மகனரொஙகனநாயக்
கர்துரைததனம்செய்து கொணடிருக்கிறநாளையில வனநதிரமானகாடுகளை யெலலாம்
வெட்டிஅளகுபட்டிசிலலார்பட்டிசிநதவக்குணடுகலிக்கம்பட்டிஇநதஸதலஙகளையெல
லாம்உணடுபணணிக்குடியேறறிருசுவுபணணிக்கொணடிருநதார்அப்படிஇருக்கிறநா
ளையில்மைசூரில்தேவராயுடையார்துரைததனஞசெய்துகொணடிருக்கிறபோதுகார்
னூர்நநதிராசாவெனகிறவன அநேகஙதளததுடனேகணவாய்க்குக்கீழ்ப்பட்டகெடிகளை
திணடிக்கலசீமைப்பரியநதிரஙகட்டிக்கொணடார்கள. அப்போதுகர்ததாக்களாகியதி
ருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்கள தளக்கர்ததராமப்பயயர்பயணம் புறப்பட்டுஅநேக தளததுட

Then *Tirumali-Naicker*, the Madura lord's general (*Dalakarten*), named *Ramapaiyen*, having set out, with a great force, approached to Dindigul; and calling together the Poligars, he addressed himself to *Rangana-Naicker*, saying, "As we are going to fight against the capital of the Mysore country, and as for many years past you have acquired a great extent of territory, having had the full proceeds of all revenues from the privilege of being an adopted child of Madura, (heretofore accorded to your ancestors,) it is now fit that you contribute sixteen thousand (gold) *chakra-pons* towards the expense of the army." On the chief's replying that his ability did not extend so far, it was finally settled that his subsidy should amount to seven thousand *pons*. *Ramapaiyen* also gave him instructions to locate himself near the general's tent, and with his own force to form the rear-guard of the army. Having followed in the prescribed manner, they laid siege to the capital of the Mysore country, and fought against its fort; but, before taking it, some evil-minded ministers who were in the presence of the *Maha-raja Tirumali-Naicker*, suggested to him, owing to latent enmity, that *Ramapaiyen* had the design of appropriating to himself all the conquered country: they added, "He is now warring against the capital of Mysore; and having taken the fortress, immediately on his return hither he will cause you to be slain, and will take possession also of this capital as his own; for such are his intentions. If you wish to ascertain the truth or falsehood of what we say, cause silver-stick messengers to be sent to call him hither peaceably, or bring him by force; and if he willingly come, then what we say is unfounded; but if he refuse to come, then our statement is true." On hearing this counsel, *Tirumali-Naicker* observed, "*Ramapaiyen* is now besieging the capital of the Mysore country; send to call him this moment, that we may see and speak with him: if he come, well; and if not willing, then lay hold of him and bring him by force." Two messengers, bearing silver-sticks, were accordingly sent on this errand. They came to *Rangana-Naicker*, who was near the general's tent, and told him that they were sent by the Madura lord to re-call the general. Immediately he reported to the *Dalavayi* that two messengers were come to him from Madura; and the general ordered them to be brought before him. The silver-stick messengers, coming before him, delivered the royal

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னேதிணடிக்கலனுக்குவநதுஇறஙகிக்கொணடுபாளையக்காரரையெலலாரையும்வரவழை
தது ரெஙகனநாயக்கரைப்பார்ததுமைசூர்சமததானததுக்குநாம்யுத்தத்துக்குப்போ
கிறதினாலேயும்அநேகநாளாய்நீவெகுசீமைகட்டிக்கொணடுகுமாரவர்க்கமெனபதாய
ச்சருவமானியம் அனுபவிததுக்கொணடுவருகிறதினாலேதணடுச்செலவுக்குசர்க்கரம்பதி
னாயிரம்பொனகொடுக்கச்சொலலிக்கேட்டார்களஅவவளவுக்குநிர்வாகமிலலையெனறு
சொனனதில்தீராதெனறுஎழாயிரம்பொனசர்க்கரம் வாஙகிக்கொணடுகூடாரததுக்கு
ச்சமீபமாய்ததானேபாளையததிலபினனேகூடவரவேணுமெனறுஉததிரவுசெயதார்க
ள். அதுவேபிரகாரததுக்குக்கூடவேபோனதில்மைசூர்சமததானததினபேரிலிறஙகிக்
கோட்டையின்மேலேசணடைசெய்துகைவசமாகிறமுனனுக்குமகாராசமானிய-ராச
ஸ்ரீ-திருமலைநாயக்கரவர்களசமுகததில்துர்மநதிரியாயிருக்கப்பட்ட பேர்களராமப்ப
யர்பேரில் மிததிரமாய்க்கர்ததாக்களிட்டதில் சகலசீர்மையும்கைவசப்படுததிக் கொண
டான். இனிமேல்மைசூர்சமததானததின்பேரில்சணடைசெயகிறான். அநதக்கெடியு
ம்கைவசப்படுததிக் கொணடுவருகிறதும்உம்மைச்சரிக்கட்டிப் போட்டுச்சமததானத்
தையுஙகைவசப்படுததிக்கொளளநினைததிருக்கிறான். நிசம்பொய்அறியவேணுமென
றால்வெளளிததடிக்காரரைஅனுப்பிவிச்சும் டியிலேகை போட்டுக்கொணடுவரச்சொன
னால்வநதாலெங்கள்பேச்சுபொய்யலலாவிட்டால்நிசமெனறுஎணணிக்கொளளுஙகோ
ளெனறு மிததிரனுசொனனார்கள். அநதவார்ததையைக்கர்ததாக்கள்கேட்டுராமப்பய்
யர்மைசூர்சமததானததின பேரிலிறஙகிச்சணடைசெய்கிறாரிநதட்சணங கணடுபேசிக்
கொணடுபோகலாமெனறு அழையுஙகள்வநதாலாச்சுது இலலாதவரையிலமடியிலே
கைபோட்டுஇழுததுக்கொணடுவாருஙகளெனறுஇரணடுபேர்வெளளிததடிக்காரரைஅ
னுப்பிவிச்சார்களஅவர்களவநதுராமப்பய்யர்கூடாரததுக்கிட்ட மதுரையிலிருநதுகர்
ததாக்கள்அனுப்பிவிச்சார்களெனறுரெஙகனநாயக்கரிடததில்ச்சொனனார்கள்அநதட்
சணம்கூடாரததிலிருக்கப்பட்ட தளவாயிடததில் வெளளிததடிக்காரர் வநதிருக்கிறார்க
ளென்றுசொனனதில்கூட்டிவரச்சொனனார்கள்வெளளிததடிக்காரர்கள எதிரெபோய்
நிருபமுங்கொடுதது அழைததுவரச்சொனனார்களெனறுசொனனதில்நிருபததைபார்

letter of re-call; and said, "The king commanded us to summon you to attend him." As soon as he had looked at the mandate, he said, "I cannot come now." The messengers insisting, laid hold of the general by the waist to take him forcibly. He gave instant orders to cut off the man's hand. But *Rangana-Naicker* objected, saying, "It is not proper to inflict punishment on the body or member of one bringing a royal order from the palace." The general was very angry with *Rangana-Naicker*, saying, "You do not know;" and, addressing some peons standing by, he ordered them to cut off the man's arm. The messenger, thus mutilated, returned to Madura with the wound; and personally reported to *Tirumali-Naicker* that the general had taken away his arm. The king having heard this report, inquired, "What was *Ramapaiyen* at that time doing? and who stood near him?" The man replied, "He was just on the very point of taking the fort; and *Rangana-Naicker*, of *Cannivadi*, was standing by, who said it is not right to punish a royal messenger; but the general, being very angry with him, gave orders to others to take off my hand; when he sent me away." Then the evil-minded courtiers observed, "Is not the word which we before spoke fully justified?" The king thereupon despatched two royal messengers to summon *Rangana-Naicker* to his presence. But in the interval the capital of Mysore was taken; and the whole of the people concerned in the siege had returned. *Rangana-Naicker*, having been specially called, proceeded with the messengers; and was taken by them to the royal presence. Then *Rangana-Naicker* spoke to the following purport—"At a time when the fort was just on the verge of being taken, what could possibly be thought of two royal messengers coming with a re-call; and laying forcibly hold, by the waist, of the principal commander? Supposing he had come, the whole affair would have been abortive, and a disgrace: hence, though presumptuously, he took away the messenger's arm; at the same time saying, let us only take the fort, and if afterwards I am convicted of a fault, my head may be cut off; and saying so, he directed the doing of this bad business." In the interim the general having had a head and a hand made of gold, came with the whole army; and bringing the hand and head into the royal presence, putting them before the king, he said, "What I did was a fault. For the rest, whatever be your pleasure, let it

ததுக்கொணடுஇப்போதுவர்க்கூடாதெனறார். தீராதுமடியிலேகை போட்டுக்கூட்டி
வாச்சொனனார்களெனறுமடியிலேகைபோட்டார்கள். அநதட்சணம் கையைவாஙகிப்
போடச்சொலலிஉததிரவுசெயதார். அப்போதுரெஙகனநாயக்கர்அரமனைமுததிராங
கததை ஆக்கினைசெய்கிறதுவிகிதமலலவெனறுசொனனார். ரெஙகயநாயக்கர்பெரிலே
ரொம்பவுங் கோபம்வநதுஉனக்குத தெரியாதெனறுபக்கதிலிருக்கிற சேவகரிட்டததில்
சொலலிக்கையை வாஙகிப்போடச்சொனனார். அநதக்காயமும் வாஙகிக்கொணடுமது
ரையில்திருமலை நாயக்கர்வாசலெதிரெவநது நினறுகட்டளையிட்ட புததிக்குஅவனகை
யைவாஙகிப் போட்டானெனறு சொனனான. அதறகு க்கர்ததாக்கள் கேட்டது. அப்
போதுராமபயன இருநதசமையமெனன அவர்பக்கததில்யாராரிருநதார்களெனறுகே
ட்டார்கள். அதறகுஇவனசொனனது நிமிஷமாததிரததில் கோடடைகைவசமாகிறதா
யிருநதுது. சனனிவாடிரெஙகன நாயக்கர்பக்கததிலேஇருநதுமுததிரைமனுஷனைஆக்
கினைசெயயப்போகாதெனறுசொனனார்அவர் பேரிலுங்கோபம்வநது எனனையுங்கை
யைவாஙகிஅனுப்பிவிச்சுவிடடாரெனறுசொனனதில்பக்கததிலெதுடட சாமாசிகளா
யிருக்கப்படட பேர்கள் முனனாலே நாஙகள்சொனன வார்ததைசரிவநததா வெனறு
சொனனார்கள்ப்போதுஇரணடுபேர்முததிரைமனுஷரை அனுப்பிவிச்சுரெஙகனநாயக்
கரை அழைத்துவாச்சொனனதில்அதறகுள் ளெமைசூர்சமத்தானமும்கைவசம்பண்ணி
க்கொணடுசகலமானசனஙகளுடனே யெதிரெவநதுவிடடார்கள். ரெஙகனநாயக்கரை
முனனேயழைததுக்கொணடுவநதுகர்ததாக்களிடததில்எதிரேகொணடுவநதுவிடடதி
லப்போதுரெஙகனநாயக்கர் சொனனதுநிமிஷமாததிரததில் கோடடைகைவசமாகிற
தருணத்தில்முத்திரைமனுஷர்வந்துமடிலேகைபோடடுஇழுததால்எனனமாவருகிறது
காரியக் கெடுதியும் அப்பிரதிடடையும் வருமெனபதாய் ததுணிநது கையை வாஙகிப்
போடடுக்கோடடைகைவசமாக்கிக்கொணடுசெயமாயெதிரெபோய்நினறால்அப்பால்
குறறஙகணடுநமததுதலையை வெடடிக்கொளளடடுமெனறு இநதவேலைசெயதுபோட
டாரெனறு சொனனான. இதறகுளளே தஙகததினாலே தலைசெயதுகொணடு கையுஞ
செயது கொணடுசகல சேனாச மெதத்துடனே யெதிரெகொணடு வநதுவைததுநாம்

be done." On this occurrence *Tirumali-Naicker* was much rejoiced; and gave to the general the suitable honorary garments, bidding him, as heretofore, to be always the commander of the forces. Then addressing *Rangana-Naicker,* he said, "As you are in an especial manner our adopted child; and as you have taken great pains and trouble in our affairs, according to the report given in by our general, therefore, as always heretofore, continue to hold your territories free of tribute or tax; only, whenever we may command your attendance, then you will come, and do such service as may be required." Assenting to these orders, he took leave, and returned to his own town.

Some time after these occurrences, there arose a necessity of going to make war against the *Sethupathi;* and the seventy-two *Palliya-carers* being summoned to attend, and the *Dalavayi Ramapaiyer* having assembled a great force, went and commenced operations against the *Sethupathi.* In consequence a great deal of fighting took place; and the *Sethupathi* being weakened, so as to be without further ability to continue his resistance, went off to Ramiseram. Then the general proceeded to Ramiseram; and casting a bridge over the channel separating the island from the main land, he took the *Sethupathi* captive, and brought him to Madura. Afterwards, as *Rangana-Naicker* had taken great pains, and was very materially concerned in the discovery and taking of the *Sethupathi,* the king, addressing him, said to him, "You are our adopted child: we are much rejoiced;" and then, presenting him with honorary dresses, permitted him to retire to his own government.

Some time after receiving this dismissal, and returning to his own town, the Mysoreans came, and spreading themselves in the dominions of *Tirumali-Naicker*, took the country as far as Dindigul: the younger brother of *Tirumali-Naicker,* named *Muttulu-Naicker,* having assembled some forces, set out and came to Dindigul, whither he summoned the eighteen *Palliya carers:* he said to them, "We are now about to go and fight against the capital of Mysore;" and gave them orders to assemble their people and follow him. The whole army accordingly proceeded, and took all the forts beneath the Ghaut; and then going on to besiege the capital, before they could capture it, the king, *Tirumali-Naicker,* was deified (or died). While the younger brother, *Muttulu-Naicker,* was about returning to Madura, the authorities

செயத்தகுற்றம்இனிமேலென்னசெய்யவேணுமோசெயதுகொளளுஙகளெனறுசொ
ணனாற்போதுதிருமலைநாயக்சர்வர்களரொம்பவுஞசநதோஷிப்பட்டுவேணடியஉடுகை
ளையஞசெயதுஎப்போதும்போலேதளக்கர்தத பிர்தானிக்களுசெயதுகொணடிருக்க
ச்சொலலிஉததிர்வுசெயதுரெஙகனநாயக்கரைப்பார்ததுநீநமக்குமுக்கியகுமார்வர்க்க
மானதிருலேநமதுகாரியததில்ரொம்பவும்பிரயாசைப்படடதாய் நம்முடையதளவாய்
சொலலிக்கொணடதிருலேயெப்போதும்போலேஉனசீமையைச்சர்வமான்னியமாக
அனுபவிததுக்கொணடுநாமெப்போதைக்குவர்ச்சொலலி உததிர்வுகொடுப்போமோ
அப்போதைக்குவநதுசேவகமுஞசெயது கொணடிருக்கச்சொலலிஉததிர்வாச்சுது அ
ப்படியாகடடுமெனறுஉடுகையும்வாஙகிக் கொணடுஊர்வநதுசேநதார்கள. அப்பா
லசிறுது நாளைக்குப்பிறகு சேதுபதிபேரிலசணடைக்குப்போக வேணுமெனறுமுப
ததிரணடுபாளையததாரையும்வரவழைச்சுக்சொணடுதளவாயிராமபயயர்வர்களும்வெகு
தளஙகளைச்சேகரிததுக்கொணடுசேதுபதியினபேரிலபோயிறஙகினதில்அவவிட்டதில்
அநேகசணடைசெயதுசேதுபதிக்குநிர்வாகமிலலாமலராமேசுரததுக்குப் போயவிட
டாரப்போதுராமேசுரததுக்குப்போய்ச்செதுவ்ணையுஙகடடிவிச்சுச்சேதுபதியையுங
கைப்பிடியாகப்பிடித்துக்கொணடுவந்த்திலஅப்போதுரெங்கனநாயக்கர்ரொம்பவும்பி
ரயாசைப்படடுச்சேதுபதியைக்கைப்பிடியாய்ச் சிக்கும்படிக்குச்செயத் திருலேகர்த
தாக்கள்ரெஙகனநாயக்கரை பார்த்துநீகுமார்வர்க்கமானதிருலேஅரமனைக்காரியததில்
ரொம்பவும்பிரயாசைப்படடுகிறுயெனறுரொம்பவுஞசநதோஷப்படடுஉடுகையுஞசெ
யதுஊருக்குப்போகச்சொலலி உததிர்வுசெயதார்கஎப்படிக்குஉததிர்வுவாஙகிக்கொ
ணடுஊருக்குவநதிருக்கிற நாளையிலசிறுதுநாளைக்குப்பிறகு கர்ததாக்களாகியதிருமலை
நாயக்கர்வர்களசீமையிலதிணடுக்கலப்பரியநதிர்ம்மைசூரார்வநதுகடடிக்கொணடதிரு
லேதிருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்களதம்பிமுததுலநாயக்கர்வர்களசன்சேகரததுடனேதணடெ
டுததுப்பயணம்புறப்படடுத்திணடுக்கலிலவநதிறஙகிக்கொணடு பதினெடடுப்பாளைய
க்காரரையும்வரவழைததுநாம் மைசூரார்சமத்தானத்தினபேரில சணடைக்குப்போகி
றோம்பாளையக்காரரும்அவர்வர்களசனததுடனேகூடவாருஙகளெனறுகூடடிக்கொண

of the court, having all assembled, crowned *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker.* Subsequently *Muttulu-Naicker,* having returned, encamped on the outside of the fort of Madura; and thence he sent a message to *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker,* and to the other authorities, to the following purport—" After *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* had ruled, and was deceased, *Tirumali-Naicker* reigned; and now that he is deceased, the right to the government is with me. On the contrary, *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* is now crowned; but by what right?" And in connexion with this message he was the cause of great trouble. Thereupon *Rangapa-Naicker,* going out on a peaceable embassy, represented to *Muttulu-Naicker* that it was highly proper for both parties to restrain all disputes; and proposed to give over to *Muttulu-Naicker* the *Siva-Casi* country, as his own independent domain: recommending him first to proceed thither, when afterwards all needful matters might be arranged by negociation. As *Rangana-Naicker* was a principal man with the sovereigns, and an adopted child (by metaphor), *Muttulu-Naicker* did not reject his proposals; and, according to them proceeded to *Siva-Casi. Rangana-Naicker* returned to *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker,* and said, "We wish to return to our town:" As *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* was newly crowned, he gave many presents of honorary dresses, and the like, to all the *Palliya-carers,* and dismissed them. He then distinguished *Rangana-Naicker* by some special presents; and having given him leave, the latter returned to his own country. The period of his government was, in all, fifty years.

டுபாளையஞசகிதமாய்ப்புறப்படடுக்கணவாய்க்குக்கீழ்ப்படட கெடிகளையெலலாஙகை
வசப்படு ததிக்கொணடுமைசூர் சமததானததினபேரில போயிறஙகிச்சமததானததை
யுஙகைவசப்படுததிக்கொணடுவருகிறமுனனுக்குதிருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்களதெயவீகமாய
ப்போனுர்கள. தம்பியானமுததுலநாயக்கர்வர்களமதுராபுரிக்குவருகிறதுக்குளளாக
ச்சமததானததிலிருக்கிற சாமாசிகளெலலாங கூடிமுததுவீரப்பநாயக்கருக்குப்படடங
கடடிவிச்சுப் போடடார்கள்ப்போதுமுததுல நாயக்கர்வவர்களமதுரைக்கோடடைக்
கு வெளியிலே வநதிறஙகிக் கொணடுமுதது வீரப்பநாயக்கருக்கு ஞசாமாசிகளுக்குஞ
சொலலியனுப்பிவிச்சவிபரம். முததுவீரப்பநாயக்கர் துரைததனஞசெயது கொணடி
ருநது அவர்தெயவீகமாய்ப்போய்த்திருமலைநாயக்கருக்குப்படடமாசசுது அவர்தெய
வீகமாய்ப்போனதினுலேஅநததுரைததனம்நாஞசெயயவேணும் அப்படிக்கிலலாம
லமுததுவீரப்பநாயக்கர்துரைததனஞசெயது கொணடுவருகிறதெனன காரியமெனறு
அநேகசலலியததுக்கிடஞ்செயத்தில அப்போது ரொஙகனநாயக்கர் போய்சசமுதாயி
ததுமுததுல நாயக்கரிடததில வநதுஇருபேருக்குஞசலலியமிலலாமலிருக்கிறதுநலல
தெனறு சொலலிஇப்போதைக்குததன்தாய்சசிவ்காசிசீமைவிடடுக்கொடுக்கும்படியா
ப்த்திடடப்படுததியிருக்குது· இப்போதைக்குஅவவிடததிலிருநதால பினனுலேஆக
வேணடிய காரியஙகள சீரிடடுக்கொளளலாமெனறு சொனனுர்கள. கர்ததாக்களுக்கு
ரொஙகனநாயக்கர்முக்கியகுமாரவர்க்கமானதினுலேயும்பெரிய மனுஷனுனதிலேயும்அ
வர்வார் தநதையைத தடடாமல முததுலநாயக்கர்சிவ்காசியில போயிருநதார்கள்ப்பால
முததுவீரப்ப நாயக்கரவர்களிடததுக்குவநதுஊருக்குப்போகிறேமெனறுசொலலிக்
கொணடதிலபுதுசாயப்படடஙகடடிக்கொணடதினுலேசகலமானபாளையக்காரருக்கு
ம்அனேகம்உடுகைாகளசெயது அனுப்பிவிசாரப்போது ரொஙகனநாயக்கருக்குவேண
டியஉடுகைாகளசெயதுஅனுப்பிவிசசார்கள. அவரும்அனுப்பிவிசசுக்கொணடுஊர்வந
துசேர்நதார்கள்ப்பாலஅவர்படடம்-௲௫௱௰.

An examination of the Mackenzie MS. a little before adverted to,* shows that there is nothing particularly recorded of *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, the elder brother of *Tirumali-Naicker;* and the reign of the latter has now received some considerable illustration from the documents adduced. It appears, from the record concerning the Poligar *Rangana-Naicker*, that more than one incursion from Mysore must have taken place: though the last, and principal one, is alone noticed in the section under annotation of the Carnataca Dynasty. With the closing exception, the war against the rebellious *Sethupathi* was the chief martial event of this reign. The quelling of this insurrection is the subject of a sort of heroic poem in the Tamil language, noticed Appendix, p. 36, No. 26; corresponding with its location and number in Professor Wilson's catalogue. From a cursory inspection and perusal it appears to relate, in highly charged poetical imagery, the commission given to *Ramapaiyen*, and his setting forth with an army: gives notices of the country passed through, and others adjoining: narrates the combats with *Sadaica-deven*, ending in his seeking refuge at Ramiseram, and his being protected by *Vanniyen*, a chief there; even to the capture of the *Sethupathi*, and his subsequent release by *Tirumali-Naicker*, with which the poem concludes. One of the most remarkable incidents it contains, is its statement that the *Feringhies* from Ceylon and Cochin (most probably the Dutch or Portuguese) were called in to take part in the contest; and that they came in five ships, or vessels. The poem, considered simply as a poem, may merit some further attention; but as to the simple abstract incidents, these coincide with the very brief record of them contained in the Carnataca Dynasty.

The interposition of the *Vairagis* and *Sanniyassis*, yields occasion to allude to the manuscript, (Appendix, p. 35, No. 3.) *Chola-desa Purvika Cheritra*, which has had our careful and leisurely perusal. The production has its value, but not great historical value; consisting chiefly of hypothesis and critical disquisition on many irrelevant topics. The following extract will serve as some specimen of its style and manner; and it adds an item or two of illustration on matters connected with our present subject.

—— காலகணட சோழனவலலததிலிருக்கிற சிவாலயஙகளைக்கட்டினன இநதக் காலக்கணட சோழனைத தொடடுவலலதது இஸததலபுராணததிலேவிஸததார்மாயச் சொலலியிருக்குது ஆனாலவலலததுக்கோடடையை வடுகநாயக்கமார்கடடினார்களஎப் படியெனறால் மறவர்பாணடியனவஙகிஷதது வெள்ளாளரைக்குததிப் போடடுமறவர் டிச-படடம்அறுநூறறெடடுவருஷம்ஆணடபிறகுவடுகநாயக்கமார்மறவரைததுரததி ப்போடடுமதுரைதிருச்சிராப்பளளி தஞசாவூரொலலாமொருமடடாய் ஆணடுவருகிற போதுதஞசாவூர்நாயக்கமார்களதானேதஞசாவூர்க்கோடடையும் வலலததுக்கோட டையையுஙகடடினார்கள அக்காலததிலேமறவருக்கு வலலமையிலலாத் ததினாலேமுன னகப்பாணடியனுக்குக்கை க்கீழ்க்குடியாயிருநதாப் போலேவடுகநாயக்கமாருக்குங கீழாகஊழியஞசெயதுகொணடுவலலமறறஇடஙகளிலேகுடியிருநதார்கள. பிறபாடு

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* Page 146.

வடக்கேயிருநது-௰௨௲-வயிராவிகளகூடிவநதுதிருச்சிராப்பளளியில்டைபடடிருநத சடக்கதேவனெனகிறசேதுபதியைவிடுதலையாக்கிச்சீரஙகததிலேபடடஙகடடிஇராம ஞதபுரததிலேகொணடுபோய்வைததபிறகு தஞசாவூர்ராட்சியததிலக்குடியேறியிருந தமறவரெலலாநதெறகேபோய்இராமஞதபுரச்சீர்மைமதுரைச்சீர்மையிலெஙகுநதங களினததோடேகூடப்போய்ச்சேர்நது குடியிருக்கிறார்கள. ஆனபடியிஞலேயிக்கா லததிலேதஞசாவூர்ச்சீர்மையெஙகுஙகளளர்பளளிகளபடையாச்சிகளஉடையார்கூட்ட ஙகளேமிகுததிருக்குதேயலலாமலமறவர்களையததனைகாணேம்.

TRANSLATION.

Kal-Kanda-Soren built the *Saiva* temples at *Vallam*. Concerning this *Kalkanda-Soren* the *Vallam Stalla Puranam* is very diffuse. But the *Vallam* fort was built by the northern lords. That is to say, after that the *Maravas* had destroyed the *Vallalas* of the Pandion race, they ruled during six hundred and eight years, and through a succession of fourteen chiefs. Afterwards the northern *Nayakers* drove away the *Maravas;* and ruled at the same time over Madura, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore. The Tanjore *Nayakers* built the fort of Tanjore and the fort of *Vallam.* At that time, as the *Maravas* were feeble, in the same manner as they had been under the hand of the Pandions in former days, so now they were inferior as servants to the northern *Nayakers;* and they dwelt at *Vallam* and other places.

Subsequently twelve thousand religious pilgrims, who had come from the north, released *Sadaka-deven*, the *Sethupathi*, who was imprisoned at Trichinopoly; and crowning him at *Seringham*, they carried him to Ramnad, and established him there. Thenceforward all the *Maravers*, who had gone to reside in the Tanjore province, emigrating to the south, joined their own relations in the Ramnad and Madura countries, and still reside there. Hence it happens at this present time, that though every where in the Tanjore country there are communities of those tribes which are denominated *Kallar*, *Pallis*, and *Padaiyachis*, as possessors of the landed property, yet very few *Maravers* are seen there.

From this extract we derive a further statement of the ascendancy once acquired over Madura by the Marawas; but we hope to glean further information on the point by and bye. The number of twelve thousand pilgrims, at the first, excited some apprehension of exaggeration. However, the matter is explained and rendered probable by some reflection and inquiry. In the first place, pilgrimage to Ramiseram is very common: the water of the Ganges, or Godavery, is brought by pilgrims to be sprinkled or poured over the idol; and it is understood that there passes not a day without an aspersion of this kind from a new votary. In the second place, the war and capture of the *Sethupathi* had produced a very considerable interruption of the usual course of things, and, by consequence, an accumulation and detention of pilgrims. And, in the third place, it seems that the pilgrimage is not considered to be complete, as to the certainty of consequent beatification, unless in addition to seeing and doing homage to the idol, they afterwards see and render obeisance to the

Sethupathi, the appointed and legitimate guardian of the temple at Ramiseram. Hence the number of pilgrims, and their importunate clamors, producing the release of *Sadaicen*, becomes sufficiently well explained.

As yet we have not the means of reconciling the discrepancy of statement between the account in the Carnataca Dynasty, and that in some of the Mackenzie MSS. as to the commander-in-chief in the expeditions against the Mysoreans. The extract just before given makes the repelling of one Mysore invasion to have been confided to *Nadukatali-Chinna-Kattir-Naicker*, and another to *Ramapaiyen;* and this last to have been before the rebellion of the *Sethupathi*. It also makes the last expedition to be under the command of *Muttulu-Naicker;* in which it is confirmed by another authority, to be forthwith adduced. Whether therefore the invasion of the Mysoreans, repelled by *Regu-natha-deven*, according to the Carnataca Dynasty, may have been some intermediate affair, can at present be only matter of conjecture. Further materials, yet to be examined, regarding the family of the *Sethupathis*, may perhaps clear up the difficulty; and if so, the subject will be again adverted to. It is sufficiently clear, that the Mysore and Madura rulers, though alike offsets from the more ancient *Vijianagaram*, were yet in a state of constant hostility; and more especially during this reign. A further reference anon must be made to Mysore affairs; but meantime it is our office to introduce a translated extract from another Mackenzie MS. relating to the conduct of the expedition under *Muttulu-Naicker*, and the amicable adjustment with him afterwards made: preventing a civil war in the Madura kingdom. The original is in the Telugu language, and of respectable composition: it commences with the account here first given, and continues the narrative through succeeding reigns; containing various details of more or less importance. By consequence, there may be occasion to refer to it oftener than once. Not having, at present, convenient means of setting up the original Telugu, the extract is confined to an accurate English translation.

RECORD OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE CARNATACA GOVERNORS.

(*Translated extract.*)

After that the *Maha-raja Tirumali-Naicker* had gone to *Vaicontha*, his son, *Raja-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, was anointed and installed. Up to that time the second in power had been *Cumara-Muttulu-Naicker*, the younger brother of *Tirumali-Naicker*. During the illness of *Raja-Tirumali-Naicker* the people of the *Maisur-Srirangapatnam*, exceeding their own boundaries, descending the pass, and entering on the territory of *Raja-Tirumali-Naicker*, took entire possession of Coimbatore, and some others of the eighteen chief towns of that district. On this intelligence reaching *Raja-Tirumali-Naicker*, he was greatly incensed; and his eyes sparkled with rage: at the same instant calling his younger brother *Cumara-Muttulu-Naicker*, the second governor, he said to him, "The Mysoreans, knowing that we are sick, have availed themselves of the opportunity to invade our royal domains, and have taken many of our principal places; therefore do you forthwith assemble all our forces; and, proceeding with these, resist and overcome the enemy, retaking the country which they have wrested from us; and, besides, following them up into their own mountainous country, capture that also; and then return." In obedience to these orders, *Cumara-Muttulu-Naicker* took the requisite measures to assemble all the elephants, horses, foot-soldiers, and every other description of troops; and, without any loss of time, by forced marches night and day, he fell upon the Mysoreans, and encountered them many times, with distinguished bravery, until he had cut up and scattered their forces. Then such of the Mysoreans as had escaped destruction, perceiving his valour, and finding they could not successfully oppose him, relinquished the places which they held, and re-ascended the mountain-pass. Thereupon *Cumara-Muttulu-Naicker*, being greatly rejoiced, beat the drum of victory; and, placing garrisons in all the towns which had been captured, he restored the country to its accustomed order. Afterwards, putting no bounds to his anger, and being mindful of his elder brother's commands, he led the whole of his army up the Ghaut, with the greatest circumspection. Then the Mysoreans, observing his approach,

attended with a strong army, remarked one to another "These have re-captured their own places; they have beaten us and driven us away; and not satisfied with regaining the country which we had conquered, they even have dared to ascend to our mountain country;" and thereupon they fell upon the troops of the Madura capital with a great multitude. In consequence a most bloody combat was waged. In the midst of it, *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker* re-assured his forces by beckoning them with his hand; and, restoring them to good order, he placed himself in front of his army, leading them on; and, after a long and arduous struggle with the Mysoreans, he defeated them. Afterwards, a few of their leaders turning their faces towards *Sriranga-patnam*, ran away. *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker*, to his great joy, having thus discomfited their army, took possession of the mountaineers' country as far as *Nanjana-kudi;* and, putting his own people into that place, he encamped with his army in its vicinity.

Just at this time the most illustrious king, *Tirumali-Naicker,* was deified, (or died). Thereupon the people of the palace at Madura, the lords, and executive ministers, having all assembled, held a deliberative council, and crowned *Sri-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker,* the son of *Tirumali-Naicker. Cumara-Muttula-Naicker,* on hearing of the decease of *Tirumali-Naicker,* and of the coronation of *Sri-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker,* took the matter very angrily, and said to the chief persons around him, with a deeply wounded mind, "Although we are the proper person to be crowned after our elder brother, yet, without our knowledge, the people of our elder brother's son have proceeded to crown him." He forthwith had the *generale* beat, gave directions to the *hircarrahs,* and put his camp in motion. He took the *Casi-lingam,* which had been consecrated at *Nanjana-kudi;* and besides this, he took all the treasure of this chief town, with jewels, elephants, horses; and carrying them with him, proceeded with the army, quitting the mountainous country, and, descending the pass, halted with his encampment at a village named *Durvamanam,* near to Madura.

Such being the state of circumstances, *Sri-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker,* as also his generalissimo, and executive ministers, entered upon a peaceable negociation with *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker;* and having pacified him, gave up to him *Siva-Casi* and some other territory in the Tinnevelly country. Hereupon, as *Cāmara-Muttula-Naicker* was a person of distinguished good sense, he resigned all other claims; and

giving over his army to *Sri-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, caused his son, *Cumara-Rangapa-Naicker*, to be installed and anointed, as the second in power: then dividing his troops, he proceeded to *Siva-Casi*. He caused this town to be properly built; and erected in it a very large temple, in which he caused the image that he had brought from *Nanjana-kudi* to be placed and consecrated. To this *Isvaren* he gave the name of *Visvanatha-svami;* and caused a temple-goddess to be made, as also every other customary kind of images. He ordered many embroidered vestments to be prepared; and also a car for the processions to be built. He caused the homage in that temple to be regularly conducted; and saw that the festival occasions were managed with great splendor. He besides had many reservoirs of water dug, and caused many *Agraharas* (or houses for Bramins) to be built. Thus, as one distinguished for charitable munificence, he ruled that country for some time; and afterwards was deified.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 10.

In the heading of this section *Cumara-Ranga-Naicker*, the second sovereign, is printed by inadvertency for *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*. The reign of the latter, with that of his successor, receive some considerable illustration from the two Mackenzie MSS. already quoted. We first adduce an extract, and its translation, from the Tamil account of the descendants of *Appiya-Naicker*. The reign of *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, it will be seen, was not much marked by incidents; owing to his being well established on the throne, and being very probably a wise and peaceable prince: only, according to the notions of his day, he indulged himself in building temples and houses for Bramins, with royal endowments. Such seems to have been the chief occupation of native Hindu sovereigns in times of prosperity and peace. It will be also seen, that his successor, *Choka-natha-Naicker*, was most probably of very inferior turn of mind, as the incidents of his reign were certainly of another character.

NOTICE OF CHINNA-KATTIRA-NAICKER;

His part in the Tanjore war, and in quelling the usurpation of Rustam-Khan.

While his son (the son of *Rangana-Naicker*), named *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker*, was ruling *Choka-natha-Naicker*, the lord of Trichinopoly, before raising an army to be sent to fight against the Tanjore capital, called *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker;* and said to him, "Since you are especially an adopted child of the sovereigns, give ten thousand *pons* towards the expenses of the war against Tanjore." As he replied that he could not contribute so much, it was settled that his subsidy should be five thousand *pon-chakrams.* Besides which the king directed *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker* to follow the army with his own quota of people. The fort of the Tanjore capital was in consequence besieged; and as *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker* had greatly exerted himself during the war, and was instrumental in bringing about a successful termination, the king honored him with presents on his return, bid him enjoy his revenue free of tribute as heretofore, and allowed him to retire to his own town.

While residing there he did not treat respectfully the people of the court who were near the king; so that these became angry with him. *Govinda-paiyer* was the principal minister near the sovereign, who sent for *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker,* and said to him, "It is because you enjoy your *palliyam* free of all tribute that you are so haughty: is it not? but now let us have an exact adjustment as to the proceeds of your district;" and to this end (the minister) detained him. Subsequently, while he waited in attendance, it was settled that he should pay a yearly tribute of five thousand gold *chakrams:* after which arrangement he returned to his own town. While he thus was paying tribute for two or three years, *Choka-natha-Naicker* greatly distinguished a Mahomedan, named *Rusumu-Kan* (Rustam-Khan); placing him in the royal presence, and gave to him authority. He availed himself of the opportunity to get the management of all things, and to bring all the people under his control: he then shut up *Choka-natha-Naicker,* and his children, in the house, and strictly confined them there; and. having done so, assumed the government as his own. But *Govinda-paiyer,* although having the management of all matters, did not

——— அவர்மகன சினனக்கதிா நாயக்கர் துரைததனஞசெய்துகொண்டிருக்கிற
நாளையில திரிசுர்புரங கோடடையில்கர்ததாக்களாகிய சொக்கனாதநாயக்கர்வர்களதஞ
சாவூர்சமததானததினபேரில் தணடெடுததுசணடைக்குப்போகிற முனனுக்குக்சின
னக்கத்திா நாயக்கரைவர்வழைத்துக்கர்த்தாக்களுக்குநீமுக்கியமானகுமார்வர்க்கமானதி
னலேதஞசாவூர்சமததானததின பேரில்சணடைக்குப்போகிற சிலவுக்குப்பதினயிர
ம்பொன்கொடுவெனறுகேட்டார்கள. அவவளவுக்குநிர்வாகமிலலை யெனறுசொனன
தில்தீராதெனறுஅயயாயிரம்பொனசக்கிரம்வாஙகினர்கள. அப்பால்பாளையததுக்குக்
கூடவேசினனக்கததிா நாயக்கரையும்அவர்சனததையுஙகூடவரச் சொலலிஅழைததுக்
கொணடு போனர்கள அப்போதுசமததானததின பேரிலிறஙகிக் கோடடையிற் சண
டையாகிற முனனுக்குச் சினனக்கததிா நாயக்கர்ரொம்ப ப்பிரயாசைப் படடதினலே
போனகாரியம் அனுகூலப்படுததிக்கொணடு ஊர்வநதுசேர்நதஉடனே உடுகரையுஞ
செயது எப்போதும்போலே சருவமானனியமாகஉன்பாளையப்படடை அனுப்பிவித
துக்கொணடுசுகமேஇருக்கச்சொலலிச்சினனக்கததிா நாயக்கரைஊருக்கனுப்பிவிச்சுவி
டடார்கள். ஊர்வநதுசேர்நதிருக்கிறநாளையில்கர்ததாக்களிடததிலிருக்கப்படடசாமா
சிகாளைவெட்சயப்படுததாமலிருநததினலேஅவர்களுக்குரோசம்பிறநதுகோவிநதப்
ப்ய்யர்அவர்கள்கர்த்தாக்கள்சமுகத்துக்குரொம்ப்வும்முக்கியசாமாசிகமானதினலேஅ
ப்போதுசினனக்கததிா நாயக்கரைவரவழைததுச்சருவமானனியமாய்உன்பாளையப்ப
ட்டைஅனுபவிததுக்கொணடுவருகிறதினலேஅலலோரொம்பவும்கெர்வம்வநதிருக்கு
து. உன் பாளையப்படடு கரூர் வகையறுப்புதீர்ததுக் கொணடுபோவெனறுநிறுததிக்
கொணடார்கள். அப்பால்வடததில்கார்ததுக்கொணடிருநதுஅய்யாயிரம்பொன்சர்க்
கர்ம்வருஷா வருஷஙகொடுக்கததக்கதாய்த்தீர்ததுக்கொணடுஊர்வநதுசேர்நதார்கள்.
அப்படிக்கு வகையறுப்புஇரணடுமூனறுவருஷஙகொடுததுக் கொணடுவநத்தில்சொக்
கநாதநாயக்கர்வர்கள் சமுகததில்ஒருதுலுக்கன்ருசுமுகான் எனறொருவன்பிரபலமாகி
அவனுக்குஅதிகாரஙகொடுததிருநதார்கள. அப்போதுஅவனசகலகாரியததுக்கும்வர்
ப்படடுக்கொணடு சகலசனததையுஞசுவசப்படுததிக்கொணடு கர்ததாக்களாகியசொக்

like *Rustam-Khan*, but sent a secret message to the *Sethupathi* and to *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker*, and told *Rustam-Khan* that he was about to summon all the *Palliyacarers*, in order to adjust the revenue, from their several districts; and accordingly he gave a general summons for their attendance. But he secretly called the *Sethupathi*, and *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker*, and said to them, "This *Rustam-Khan* has shut up the king in his house, keeping him closely confined there; and has assumed every thing to himself: now we are the persons to settle this business, and to release the sovereign from confinement; and I will explain to you the means of doing so: see that you act accordingly. The plan is this: to-morrow he will have come to the cutcherry, (revenue-office,) attended by a crowd of his own people, all completely armed. At the same time do you come, attended by your people, well armed; and be ready for the interview just as you would be for a battle." To these instructions they replied, "Let it be so." And accordingly *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker*, and the *Sethupathi*, both came to the interview in the manner of marching to a battle. Seeing this array, *Rustam-Khan* said to *Govinda-paiyer*, "Why do they come in this kind of way?" *Govinda-paiyer* replied, "They are come just in their customary manner." On receiving this answer *Rustam-Khan* said to *Govinda-paiyer*, "Well, bid them come to-morrow, and the thing for which they are come being all accurately settled, they may be sent away." *Govinda-paiyer* said, "Very good." And looking at *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker* and the *Sethupathi*, he winked with his eye; and then passed over on this side of them. On the instant a volley from two thousand muskets was discharged on *Rustam-Khan* and the rest of the Mahomedans, which killed the whole of them at once. *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker* immediately went to the house wherein *Choka-natha-Naicker* was confined; and, opening it, desired *Choka-natha-Naicker* to come outside. But *Choka-natha-Naicker* replied, "If you bring the head of *Rustam-Khan*, and place it before me, I will come; but until then I will not come." *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker* said, "Amongst a thousand Mahomedans, how can one of them be distinguished from the other?" *Choka-Natha-Naicker* continued, "You may know him by this mark, his having an impostume on his ear: that is he." He was distinguished by this sign; and his head being cut off, it was brought and placed before *Choka-natha-Naicker*, who then came forth from his prison. *Choka-natha-Naicker* addressed *Chinna-*

கநாத நாயக்கரையும் அவர்குஞ்சு குழநதைகளையும் வீடடிலே போடடு அடைததுப் போடடு ததானுகச்சிறுதுநாளகாறுபார்செய்து கொணடிருநதா னப்போதுகோவி நதப்பய்யர்ருசுமுகானையடித துமுக்கியமாய்ச்சகலகாரியமும் பார்ததுக்கொணடிருந துஅநதரஙகததிலே சேதுபதிக்குஞசினனக்கததிர்நாயக்கருக்குஞசொலலி யனுப்பிவி ச்சுப்பாளையப்படடாரைச் சீமைவகையறுப்புதீததுக் கொளளவரச்சொலலிஅனுப்பி விக்கிறெனெனறுருசுமுகானிட்டதில்சொலலிச்சகலமானபாளையக்காரரையும்வரவழை த்துச்சேதுபதியையுஞ்சினனக்கத்திர்நாயக்கரையுங்கோவிநதப்பய்யர்அநதரஙகத்தில் வரவழைததுக்கர்ததாக்களைவீடடிலேபோடட்டைததுப்போடடுச்சகல காரியமுமிந தருசுமுகானேபார்க்கிறுனெனறுசொலலி நாம்தானிவனைச்சரிப்படுததிப்போடடுக்க ர்ததாக்களைவெளிப்படுததுகிற தறகுஉபாயஞசொலலுகிறேன். அநதப்படிக்குநீஙக ள்செய்யவேணும்அதெப்படியெனறல்அவன்நாளையததினஙகச்சேரிக்குஅவனசொந் தசனமாயஆயிதமுததீததுடனே சனசேகரமாய்வநதிருப்பான. அப்போதுநீஙகளு ஞசனசேகரததுடனேஆயிதமுததிப்புடனேதயாராய்உயிததசனஙகததுக்குப்போ கிறசஙகதியாய்ப்பேடடிக்குவாருஙகளெனறு சொலலியிருநதார்கள்.அப்படியேயாகட டுமெனறுசினனக்கத்திா நாயக்கர்சேதுபதிஇாணடுபேரும்உயிததமுகததுக்குப்போ கிறபாஙகமாயவநது கணடார்களஅப்போதுருசுமுகான்கோவிநதப்பய்யரைப்பார்த து இவர்களிப் படிக்கு வரவேணடிய தெனன வெனறு கேடடான். அப்போது கோ விநதப்பய்யர்சொனனது அவர்களெப்போதும் போலேதானவருகிற சடடமாய்வந தார்களெனறுசொன்னுர்அப்போதுருசுமுகான்கோவிநதப்பய்யரைப்பார்ததுச்சொ னனதுநலலதுநாளைக்குவரச்சொலலுஅவர்களவநதகாரியமெலலாநதிடடப்படுததிஅ னுப்பிவிக்சலாமெனறுசொனனுன. அப்போதுகோவிநதப்பய்யர்நலலதெனறுசினன க்கததிர் நாயக்கரையுஞசேதுபதியையும் பார்ததுக் கணணைக்காடடிச் சாடைசெயது போடடுஇப்புறம்வநதுவிடடார். அநதட்சணம்இரணடாயிரம்வெடியும்ஒரேபலிததா வானதில்ருசுமுகான் முதல்துலுக்கரா ததியநதமும்படடுப் போனுர்கள அநதட்சணஞ சினனக்கததிரநாயக்கர்சொக்கநாதநாயக்கரை அடைததிருக்கிறவீடடுக்குப்போயவீட

டைததிறநது சொக்கநாதநாயக்கனை வெளியிலே வரச்சொனனதில்ப்போது சொக்க
நாதநாயக்கர்வர்கள சொனனது ருசுமுகான் தலையை வெடடிக் கொணடு எனெதிரே
கொணடுவநதுவைததால்வருகிறேன் இலலாதவனாயில்வரமாடடேனெனறுசொனன
தில்ப்போது சினனக்கத்திரநாயக்கர்சொனனது ஆயிரம்பேர் துலுக்கரில் ஆரெனறிகிற
தெனறுசொனனதில் அப்போது சொக்கநாதநாயக்கர்சொனனது ருசுமுகானுக்கு அ
டையாளங்காதிலே சிவடியும் அவனதானெனறுசொனனார்கள அப்போதுவநதுபார்
தது அவனை அநத அடையாளததின்படிக்கு அவன தலையைவெடடிக்கொணடுவநது சொ
க்கநாதநாயக்கரெதிரே வைததில் அப்போது அவரும் வெளியேபுறப்படடுவநதார் அ
ப்போது சினனக்கததிரநாயக்கரைச் சொக்கநாதநாயக்கர்பார்தது உனனுடையசாமா
ர்ததியந தெரியாமல்வகையறுப்பு இரணடுவருஷததீர்தது வாங்கிப்போடடோம். இனி
மேல அப்படிக்குக்கொடுக்கவேணடியதிலலை. சருவமானியமாய்வைததுச்சாப்பிடடுக்
கொணடுசுகமேயிருவெனறு உடுகனைகொடுதது உததிரவுசெயது அனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள.
அவரும்ஊர்வநதுசேர்நதார்கள அவர்படடம்-ஷுசம.

Kattira-Naicker to the following purport—"Being ignorant of your great talents, two years amount of tribute was settled, and received from you. For the future you need render nothing of the kind. Receive the full revenue, live on it, and prosper." He added the customary presents; and with these dismissing him, gave him leave to depart. The latter accordingly returned to his own town. The period of his rule was forty years.

The preceding extract bears chiefly on the reign of *Choka-natha-Naicker;* and illustrates especially the singular manner in which he was liberated from the thraldom of his own favorite *Rustam-Khan:* but the Telugu manuscript, before quoted from, is somewhat fuller in its notice of *Mutthu-virapa-Naicker;* and, in the reign of his successor, developes fully the causes and consequences of the rupture with Tanjore; leading to a scene as amazing, and a consummation as tragical, as perhaps ever occurred. We find mention in it besides of the first germe of that application to the northern Mahomedans which grew into a coalition with the Mahrattas; and bore, as its fruit, a new dynasty; that of the present reigning power at Tanjore. It is further evident from the extract, that the ancient *Soren* dynasty must have given way, at an earlier period than we had supposed, before the power of the *Vijianagaram Rayers;* and though the point is not cleared up, yet it is probable, that the viceroy of Tanjore became independent after the battle of Tellicotta; thus in some measure explaining in what manner *Ariya-natha-Muthaliar* held a common influence at Madura and Tanjore. Patient researches may, it is possible, solve every difficulty in the history we have been passing over: for the present, it is sufficient to introduce the extract referred to, translated from the Telugu manuscript.

THE WAR WITH TANJORE.

The *Maha-Rajah, Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker,* having made *Cumara-Rangapa-Naicker,* the excellent son of *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker,* his second in power at Madura, he reigned over the whole of the Pandion country with great equity. He built many *Agraharas* (houses for Bramins) and many temples; and had many reservoirs for water excavated. He made many presents to the temples and to the Bramins; and fully patronised all that depended on him. Thus he ruled with the greatest splendor and prosperity; so that the neighbouring kings were in awe of him. He so governed the kingdom from *Subakirathu* year down to *Virothikirathu* year, being ten years. This was *Salivahana Sagartam* 1594 (A. D. 1672).

Afterwards *Raja-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker's* son, *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker,* was crowned; and, for a short time, as always before, *Cumara-Rangapa-Naicker* was the second in power; but soon after the latter died. The second sovereignty then descended to *Cumara-Tirumali-Naicker,* the younger brother of *Choka-natha-Naicker.* And thus *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker* governed the kingdom with great equity.

Matters being thus situated, *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, the ruler of the *Tanjai-nagaram* capital (Tanjore), had a daughter born to him, and carefully brought up; endowed with superior sense and great personal attractions. Information of this circumstance having been received by the *Dala-Kartavayi* (general), named *Tirusirapuram-Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, and by the treasurer, named *Chinna-Tambi-Muthaliar*, they agreed that it was desirable to obtain such a person in marriage for their king *Choka-natha-Naicker*. They made known the matter to him; and by his sanction sent suitable persons to negociate the marriage. These accordingly proceeded towards Tanjore; and sent beforehand to announce to *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, that such and such persons were coming: at the consequent interview they addressed him, saying, " Our king, *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker*, desires that you will present your daughter to him in marriage." So soon as *Achyuta-Vijia Ragava-Naicker* heard these words, he became incensed, and said, " Our daughter cannot be given to your king." But not stopping there, he freely indulged himself in ribaldry; and, without rendering the proper courtesy to the messengers, he told them to return whence they came. When, in consequence, they had returned to Trichinopoly, they caused the unhandsome treatment they had experienced at Tanjore to be fully understood by the *Dalavayi Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, and by the treasurer, *Chinna-Tambi-Muthaliar*, in the immediate presence of the king *Choka-natha-Naicker*. On the simple hearing of the expressions, that had been employed, *Sri-Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker* was incensed to the highest degree; and, on the instant, took measures for assembling together many elephants, horses, and infantry; as also many large cannons and small arms, with connected matters: then addressing the *Dalavayi Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, he said, "Do you forthwith set out with this assembled force, and storm the fort of Tanjore: conquer the whole of the people connected with that capital; and, having subdued the entire country, return. By this means you must add to your martial renown. Besides, heretofore having combated in many places, and acquired great reputation for bravery, you have the titles of *Sugriva's* crown and *Vaivasasi;* and since you are valiant as *Arjunen*, you commonly have his ten names applied to you in this kingdom. As you are a very skilful man, take with you the treasurer, *Chinna-Tambi-Muthaliar;* and assembling all the forces, proceed against the Tanjoreans."

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... TANJORE

On receiving this command, the *Dalavayi Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker* placed the royal order on his head, and replied, "We will do according to the king's command:" then taking his dismissal, and placing himself at the head of the whole army, he quitted Trichinopoly, and passed over the boundaries of the Tanjore country. An encounter took place between the Tanjore troops stationed there and the invading force; and blood ran like water in the channels for irrigation. There was then great destruction, and many slain in the Tanjore force, many also were wounded.* Those who remained went to Tanjore, and reported what had occurred to their king. The simple hearing of this intelligence was to him like the thrusting of a heated iron rod into his ear; and, in a transport of anger, he instantly assembled a great force, and sent it against the Trichinopolitans. In the interim these, with the greatest celerity, advanced against the Tanjoreans. A fierce encounter took place between them. *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker* sent information of these events to his royal *guru*, (or chief spiritual adviser,) named *Soma-santira-Sami;* and, calling him, held a consultation with him: as the result of which the latter employed many incantations and imprecations, with the view of doing mischief to the Trichinopoly king. Intelligence of this mode of proceeding having reached *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker*, he took counsel as to what should be agreed on to do in return; and sending, with great speed, for his own spiritual adviser, named *Baktapiriya-Sami*, he told him what was transacted at Tanjore, and directed him speedily to employ means with a view to set aside the effect of their devices. Thereupon *Bakta-piriya-Sami* counteracted the incantations of the enemies; so as to deprive them of power to do harm to any one. Besides which he formed the design of making a *yagum*, (sacrifice, or ceremony,) the effect of which should be to cause all the Tanjore troops to come over and join the king's forces; and forthwith he had gathered from all parts of the kingdom lacs upon lacs of pumpkins: having made these a subject of magical incantation, he caused all of them in the night time to be broken and cast into the river Cauvery. The object of this proceeding was, that whosoever should drink of the water of the Cauvery, thus impregnated with these pumpkins, should come over to be on the

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* The translation is here a little abbreviated, as the original indulges in needless poetical ornament and metaphor.

side of the Trichinopoly king. While this device was being conducted the two armies had come to an engagement; and the Tanjore army being beaten, retreated, and entered into the fortress of Tanjore.

Hereupon the *Dalavayi-Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, being greatly rejoiced, gave to the whole of his army presents of jewels, rejoicing them all; and then putting the camp in motion, he proceeded and encamped near to Tanjore. Immediately afterwards the *Dalavayi-Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker* sent a message, by suitable persons, to *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, to this effect—"Notwithstanding all past occurrences, you are a great king, and an illustrious personage. Moreover, as you refused to bestow your daughter all this discussion between your's and our's has occurred. But wherefore should it be continued? Consent to the marriage of your daughter with our king; and let a reconciliation take place. If so, we will cause our army to retire." On their delivering this message, *Vijia-Ragava-Naicker* became very angry at learning its purport; and sent to them (intermediately) the following reply: "The former speech was different, now that you have seen the army does the tone vary? It must not be so. If you are such very brave persons, fight on." At that time there were, on the ramparts of the Tanjore fort, twenty thousand musketeers, and otherwise a great force. Although the besieging army saw all these, yet they did not in any wise give way; but posted the army, and mounted cannons upon raised breast-works, and having fixed the mark on the fort and the troops upon it, they discharged against it, with great rapidity, some tens of thousands of cannon shot. The defending troops were not able to sustain the infliction from the discharges of cannon; and coming over (in inclination) to the side of the besiegers, sent them terms of capitulation; declaring themselves to be their own people. At that time the mark being against the gates, these were struck and split in pieces; and, at the same time, the ditches were filled up, by bringing and casting into them great quantities of wood (fascines); when the place was entered, and taken by storm: some ascending the breaches made by the cannon shot, and some going in by the gates. *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, at this critical conjuncture, was at his devotions; praying with his eyes shut, and making the *Vaishnava* mark on his forehead. Some of his own people came and said, "O great king! the enemies have entered our

fort by storm, and are now inside." As he was a great devotee of *Narayana*, he did not abandon his homage; but merely made a sign to signify, "Let them come, we shall see."

But the *Dalavayi-Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, being very intelligent, and a person of an elevated mode of thinking, he at this same very critical time sent a message to *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, to this purport—"We have stormed your fort, and are now within it, accompanied by a very great army; and your own troops, together with the fort, are now altogether ours. What resource now remains to you? Therefore hereafter speak of peace, and we will still retire our troops." But without interrupting his homage, and silently continuing his mental devotion, the king merely made a sign to this effect,—"Though even our kingdom, and every thing besides, go away, yet relinquish your endeavours to intimidate me, even but a little, or to compel me to give you my daughter, and to sue for peace." This message he conveyed, with the greatest confidence, not uttering a single word. The *Dalavayi Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, on receiving this intelligence, called together the troops, and advanced with them up to the very gates of *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker's* palace. In the interim, he having finished his homage, and hearing that the enemy's troops had advanced to the gates of the palace, became very angry, and arming himself alone with a weapon with great courage, he gave directions to assemble his crowned wives, little children, and all the rest of their attendants, in a place of refuge; and surrounding them with earthen vessels filled with gunpowder, he said, "At whatever time I may send word, at that time you will apply fire to those vessels charged with gunpowder, and attain the possession of *Vaicontha*." Having given these orders, and while about to come forth out of the palace, he was accompanied by his people, those being excepted who had gone over to the side of the Trichinopolitans; and especially near to him, in order to guard his sacred person, were the *Dalavayi Rangapa-Naicker*, *Timma*, the conductor of the royal elephant, *Choka-nathen*, *Vira-banu-Chinna-Raja*, and *Akki-Raja*. These five persons, well armed, were around about him as he came out, also being armed, from the principal entry of the palace, and fronted the enemy's army, who had been eagerly enquiring "Where is the king? we do not see him come out." The appearance of *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker* at this time was that of a

youthful well looking person, though more than eighty years of age: his extremely over-hanging eye-brows had gold wires attached to them to keep them up; his shrivelled waist was wrapped round with valuable robes; and his dress studded with very many gems: he held in both his hands two very long highly furbished and glittering swords; and thus presenting himself before his enemies, assayed himself to commence war. Now it had happened, sometime before this, that in a transient fit of anger he had put irons on his son *Mannarapa-Naicker*, and confined him in prison; and the wish now occurred to the *Dalavayi Rangapa-Naicker* to release him, taking advantage of the present conjuncture. He in consequence spoke on this point to *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, who consented, saying, "It is well: let *Mannaru-Sami* be released and brought." Some persons immediately went, and having cast off his fetters, brought him with them. Then *Mannarapa-Naicker*, regarding his father, uttered the following verse.*

Let the sea cast up jewels, and hide them with straws;
But, conquering ruler! we own no such flaws.
To the sea be that shame, but we will assert,
That jewels are jewels, and dirt is still dirt.

He at the same time stood before his father in the most suppliant attitude, and with his hands closed together in the manner of prayer; while *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, beholding his son, and yielding to unrestrained parental affection, folded him in his arms. They then briefly inquired on the state of their mutual health, and spoke about the events of the war: their opinion was this—"The royal queens, with the children and others, are all in the *Mahl;* and it is certain, notwithstanding we

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* The Telugu lines are:—

Manikinthu parichi jalanithi
Trunamun painunche athanithe kothava sumi,
Mani maniye, trunamu truname,
Rana vijaiya deliba, Vijaiya Ragava Buba!

The sea which casts jewels beneath, (and)
Straws uppermost—See! That is its defect:
(But) a jewel is a jewel, a straw is a straw,
O *Vijaiya Ragava!* lord, and conqueror in combat.

may fight a little, and afterwards obtain *Vaicontha*, yet that if they remain there, when we are dead those of Trichinopoly will accomplish their own word, and taking our daughter thither, they will establish their own pretension; therefore we ourselves must cause the whole of them to obtain the divine form." Thus consulting and speaking, *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker* despatched his son and *Akki-raja* on this errand into the *Mahl*. Meantime the whole of the royal females held in their hands drawn swords, and were constantly waiting, anxious to know if the king's mandate of death would come or not. When they saw the before-mentioned two persons approaching, they inquired "Is the king well? what command has he sent?" As soon as *Mannarapa-Naicker* had announced the fatal mandate, the royal females began immediately to cut each other in pieces with swords and axes; and some receiving deadly wounds, forthwith attained heavenly bliss. As a great number of domestics were within the palace, the whole of the remainder set fire to the gunpowder; previous to which act the two before-mentioned persons quitted the palace, and stood before the king, after having given in their report. No sooner had fire been applied to the gunpowder within the *Mahl*, than a loud double explosion took place; and the fire and smoke filled and surrounded the whole palace, setting it on fire. *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker* however did not give way to the least grief of mind on beholding that combustion, but said, "O *Mannaru-deva!* this is a requital for you;" and then, putting no restraint on himself, he rushed on to the battle. But before all this, the Trichinopoly commander, the *Dalavayi Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, had very respectfully addressed them to this effect—"O divinities! while you are endued with such distinguished wisdom, why do you disturb so much water in so trifling a work? A relationship between yourselves and our king is not a novelty; for from the times of the *Maha-raja-Tirumali-Naicker*, there has been between yourselves and them, a relationship as close as between milk and water; but now, from so much resistance, all this business has proceeded. However, for the future, be you and they in harmonious accord." This, and more to the same purpose, he said before people inside had set fire to the *Mahl*. To which the reply was, "We do not use double speech: having heretofore spoken in one way, is it because of what has occurred, supposing us afraid and consenting to you, that you now

speak in this manner? Is life the greatest, or is honor the greatest? However it may be as to right order, at all events we must preserve honor, and acquire fame. Hence cease consultations, and come and fight with us." While negociations were thus rejected by them, and they were advancing onward, *Timma*, the driver of the royal elephant, a very skilful person, with *Choka-nathen*, *Virabanu-Chinna-raja*, *Akki-raja*, and the *Dalavayi Rangana-Naicker*, these five persons restrained the king and *Mannarapa-Naicker*, entered each one singly into the midst of the enemy's army sword in hand, and fought to the extent of their power; when ten persons cut up the five, and these five received the paradise of the brave. Thereupon *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, and his son *Mannarapa-Naicker*, taking sword in hand, entered into the enemy's army, and for a time bravely fought with much strength, each one killing many persons; after which they both of them obtained *Vaicontha*.

At the time of these occurrences a nurse, who had nourished the child of *Mannarapa-Naicker*, named *Sengamaladasu*, taking the said child, now two years old, in her arms, escaped without any one knowing it, and went to *Nagapatnam* (Negapatam); and there reared it with great care.

At a former period, while *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker* and *Choka-natha-Naicker* were on friendly terms, a communication, by palanquin and posted bearers, was established between Tanjore and *Srirangam*, within the boundaries of Trichinopoly: and it was the daily custom of the former, after his morning devotions and putting the *Vaishnava* mark on his forehead, to proceed post by palanquin to *Srirangam*, where on paying his homage and seeing the lord of *Srirangam*, (the idol,) he again entered his palanquin and returned to Tanjore:* after which he took his morning meal. But when the former good understanding was broken up, and the two kings were at variance with each other, then as *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker* could no longer safely make his visits to *Srirangam*, he had a lofty and highly ornamented tower erected at Tanjore, whence he could see the shrine of *Srirangam*; and he was there accustomed every day to perform the ceremony of putting on

* The distance between the two places is about twenty miles.

the *Vaishnava* mark, and to regard the aforesaid shrine; from which circumstance the said building popularly acquired the name of the *Namatirtam* pillar; and it stood for a long time; but it is now broken, and fallen down. Since he was thus a devotee of *Maha-Vishnu*, it happened that, on the very time of his falling in the combat, he was seen at *Srirangam*, attended by his children, friends, and all his domestics; on which occurrence the Bramins being greatly rejoiced, said, "See! here is the Tanjore king come to pay his visit to the lord of *Srirangam;*" and taking all the keys and seals of the inner recess, they admitted him, and all the rest, to the shrine of the god; and after giving them the *tulsi* water, which they received, and putting on their heads the customary crown, he, with the whole band of his attendants, entered into that inner recess, and there disappeared. Thereupon the whole of the persons belonging to that place said, "What miracle is this?" not without great astonishment.

The *Dalavayi Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker* sent suitable persons to adjust the affairs of the whole Tanjore kingdom, and put a new garrison in the Tanjore fort; he also had the head of *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, and of his son, cut off, and taking these, together with many rich jewelled garments, to as full an extent as desired, he returned, together with the army, to Trichinopoly; and, on receiving the king's orders, he entered the town, and presented the two heads of the Tanjore persons, and jewelled robes, before the *Maha-raja Sri-Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker's* presence, which the king, regarded with much satisfaction, and addressed the *Dalavayi Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, saying to him, "The ten names which were before given to you, belong to you only, and to no other;" and further honored him with the gift of many presents. Besides he had many donatives distributed to the treasurer, *Chinna-Tambi-Muthaliar*, and others, and said, with great joy, "Our determined resolve has now been accomplished according to our purpose."

Subsequently, he bestowed the viceroyalty of Tanjore on one *Alagiri-Naicker*, whom he regarded with the greatest affection, calling him elder brother, because he was the son of the nurse who had nourished the king when an infant, and they had both partaken of the same milk: the king having made a regulation, that, with the exception of the necessary public expenses, the whole of the remainder of the revenue

should be transmitted by him to Trichinopoly, sent *Alagiri-Naicker* to Tanjore. Accordingly he, having received the king's orders, proceeded to Tanjore, and settled the whole country; and, as before in the time of *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, the latter had acted with equity, so he also conducted himself, and after deducting expenses, he transmitted the remainder of the revenue to Trichinopoly. He in this way managed the kingdom, as the chief of Tanjore under *Choka-natha-Naicker*, with spontaneous diligence.

While matters were proceeding in this course *Sri-Choka-natha-Naicker*, having heard favorable reports of *Mangamal*, daughter of *Lingama-Naicker*, of *Chandra-giri-Dupakul*, sent suitable messengers to *Dupakul-Lingama-Naicker;* and, having married the said *Mangamal*, he experienced great happiness from the union. While so governing the kingdom, the aforesaid *Alagiri-Naicker* did not send the revenue and other things to the king, as he had been accustomed to do heretofore; nor did he transmit the needful letters; and whereas he before used to write reverential petitions, he now addressed a letter, composed in terms of equality, to the presence of the king *Choka-natha-Naicker*. Whereupon the *rayasers* (or secretaries) who were in the presence of the king, receiving this letter, brought it into the presence of the king, and said, "*Alagiri-Naicker*, of Tanjore, instead of writing a petition, as heretofore customary, has now written in this kind of style." The king, being much displeased, opened and looked at the letter, and became greatly incensed, so that he put his hand on his mustaches, and his eyes sparkled with rage. He instructed his secretaries to write a reply in these terms, "Thou understandest the nature of thy power: dost thou not? As thou and we were nourished with milk from the same breast, we placed our favor upon thee; and, so soon after sending thee to Tanjore, what means this beginning of treason, this withholding of revenue and other things, and this want of fear in sending a letter as if to an equal? If for the future we perceive this thy mistaken conduct, we shall not forbear; therefore see and conduct thyself with good sense." According to these instructions the secretaries wrote. As soon as the letter had reached *Alagiri-Naicker* he read it over; and, thinking lightly of it, returned an answer, conceived in ironical and equal terms, to this effect—"Did we not write according to the constant

practice of the Tanjore rulers, when addressing those of Trichinopoly: where is the difference?" On this letter coming to the presence of the king, *Choka-natha-Naicker*, and his understanding the contents, he was in an illustrious rage; and, ordering all the troops to be assembled, he sent for the *Dalavayi-Vengata-Kistnapa-Naicker*, and after making him acquainted with all the circumstances connected with the letters, he gave him orders in these terms—"Set out forthwith for Tanjore with the army; and taking *Alagiri-Naicker* by the hand, conduct him hither."

Thereupon the whole of the court advisers formed a deliberative council; in which they came to these conclusions—"There is sufficient cause to urge the marching of an army against *Alagiri-Naicker;* but since it will be needful to proceed against him with a much greater force than was heretofore sent against *Achyuta-Vijia-Ragava-Naicker*, should the matter be thus hurried on, how can it be managed? therefore it will be expedient to proceed regularly, according to the rules of *Sama-Dana-Betha-Dandam;** and, having done so, then we may conquer *Alagiri-Naicker.*" Agreeable to which counsel they all, with faithful integrity, pacified the king.

Such being the state of affairs, we advert to the infant *Sengamala-dasu,* that was concealed by his nurse, who took refuge in the house of a petty merchant. He received her hospitably; and abundantly supplied both her and the child *Sengamala-dasu* with food and clothes; and thus continued to protect them. While they were there, it came to the knowledge of the *Rayasam-Venganen*, who had been employed as a secretary by *Achyuta-Vijia-Rajava-Naicker*, that the offspring of the king was concealed at Negapatam. He accordingly came to that place, and had an interview with the nurse and *Sengamala-dasu*, in the house of the merchant; and all three resided together in that house for some years. When *Sengamala-dasu* had attained to ten years of age, he took with him the nurse who had brought him up, and the secretary *Venganen*, and proceeding to Visiapur, had an interview with the Padshah of Secunderabad (or with *Secandra-Padshah*); and explained to him that their capital and its domain had been taken away by force: as the replies to questions proposed were acceptable, the Padshah distinguished them with much favor; and calling

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*** Peace, tribute, division, arms; the four Hindu rules of diplomacy.**

for the son of the late *Vaji-Rao*, named *Ekoji-Raja*, he gave him orders in these terms—"Thou wilt take with thee twelve thousand horse, as also *Sengamala-dasu*, and conquer *Alagiri-Naicker*, who has taken these people's kingdom; and, having captured the fort, thou wilt cause *Sengamala-dasu* to be crowned and reinstated in the kingdom; and then return."

Accordingly *Sengamala-dasu*, and *Ekoji-Raja*, with twelve thousand cavalry, proceeded to Tanjore, and fought with *Alagiri-Naicker*. While besieging the fort, preparatory to storming it, *Alagiri-Naicker* being unable to withstand their force, and humbled in mind, wrote a petition, as he had at first been accustomed to do, to the king at Trichinopoly, in these terms—"Since foreign kings are thus come, and are about to obtain forcible possession of the kingdom, I beseech you to pardon my fault, and to drive away these foreigners; when you will keep possession of the kingdom as heretofore." On the arrival of that letter, the whole of the executive ministers assembled, and represented to the king, that as foreign rajas were about to subdue the kingdom, it was therefore needful at this time for the whole of them to go in order to conquer the enemies, and to protect the country: and this advice they urged upon his attention. But he, being displeased with *Alagiri-Naicker*, gave answer without any leaning to either side, saying, "What is either *Ekoji* or *Alagiri* to me?" In consequence the ministers, perceiving the king's state of will, remained quiet. Thereupon *Ekoji-Raja* captured the fort of Tanjore, and reinstated *Sengamala-dasu* in the possession of the kingdom. *Sengamala-dasu* afterwards gave to *Ekoji-Raja*, and the others with him, a great many splendid robes; and appropriated the revenue from Combaconum-district for the maintenance of their army; and they, upon being sent to that place, remained there with the whole army, on account of the money arising from the revenue.

Subsequently *Sengamala-dasu*, preparatory to bestowing the post of *Dalakarta-piratani* (or general), got ready a great many presents, and calling for one *Yenusan-navai*, he consulted with him on whom to bestow the office of *Dalakarten;* when it occurred to him to ask the opinion of the nurse who had reared him. Accordingly, going to her apartment and asking her opinion on this subject, she replied, "On whom can it be more suitably bestowed than on the merchant who protected us?"

Therefore, because she said, "You must give that office to no other than the *Chetty*," and as *Sengamala-dasu* was merely a child, he did not reject her counsel, but gave the post of *Dalakarten* to that merchant, delivered up to him his own seal, bestowed on him all kinds of presents, and mounting him on the royal elephant, gave him a public entry into the town. At all this the *Royasam-Venganen* was deeply grieved; and he thought, "Though I had conducted *Sengamala-dasu* to *Vijianagaram*, and with so much negociation and unmeasurable pains procured him an interview with the *Secandra-Padshah*, bringing thence an army, conquering the enemies, and causing him to be crowned; yet notwithstanding all this, not to give me the post of *Dalakarten*, but to bestow it, by the advice of a nurse, on a street shopkeeper! And did he not also bid me obey and act according to that person's orders?" With these reflections he quitted Tanjore in great anger; and, going to *Ekoji-Raja* at Combaconum, he said to him as follows—"You came from a great distance, and after great and varied efforts you took the fort; but wherefore give it over to *Sengamala-dasu?* Who besides would thus have given over so large a tract, perfectly in their own power, and yielding the annual revenue of a *crore?*" On hearing this speech *Ekoji-raja* replied, "*Harihari!* why dost thou gabble on at this kind of rate?" and was angry. But the *Rayasam-Venganen*, not ceasing on that rebuke, continued to carry on the like insinuations every day, for a period of six months. *Ekoji-raja* did not assent; and said, "Should the *Secandra-Padshah* hear this speech, severe punishment would visit us; and therefore we dare not act contrary to his written orders:" which was the usual reply. At this time some of the *Palliya-carers* to the south conquered some districts pertaining to the Tanjore dominion. About the same period the *Secandra-Padshah* died. Of this intelligence *Ekoji-Raja* received written information. Availing himself of this opportunity, the *Rayasam-Venganen* addressed *Ekoji-Raja* in the following terms—"You have no need of any precautions: come into the fort. They are by no means people of war. We will give you the kingdom, and ensure its subsequent peaceable regulation." Induced by these suggestions, and as the *Secandra-Padshah* was deceased, (*Ekoji-raja*) consented; and, sending for the *Rayasam-Venganen*, he entered Tanjore, by the eastern gate, accompanied by his troops. As *Sengamala-dasu* had no persons capable of making resistance, he himself, with

the whole of his personal attendants, went out by the western gate from the fort, and took refuge in the Trichinopoly country. *Ekoji-Raja* took possession of the rich country of Tanjore. Thenceforward, down to the present time, the Mahrattas have ruled over the Tanjore kingdom.

THE TREASON OF RUSTAM-KHAN.

During these occurrences, as the king *Choka-natha-Naicker* was a very wise prince, he directed his younger brother, *Muttala-Kartiri-Naicker*, to take the management of all the affairs of the kingdom; while *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker* passed away all his time in reading the *Baratham*, the *Bhagavatam*, the *Ramayanam*, and other books. Thereupon *Muttala-Kartiri-Naicker* inquiring into all the devices of the art of government, and from motives of favor to one *Rusumu-Kan* (Rustam-Khan), a Mahomedan, who had come to him in a state of abject poverty, gave to this person the rank of Sirdar, and the command of four thousand cavalry. This Rustam-Khan, without the loss of a day, assembled several persons of his own Mahomedan tribe; and, reducing *Muttala-Kartiri-Naicker* and *Choka-natha-Naicker* to mere shadows, he, by every kind of means, brought over their people, and took possession of the fort, with its entire management. He thereupon sent this message to *Muttala-Kartiri-Naicker*—"If, without a moment's delay, you will politely leave the fort and withdraw, carrying with you all your family and your goods, it will be well. But if otherwise, as all the troops are on my side, whatever we can do may be done." *Muttala-Kartiri-Naicker*, on hearing the message thus sent, exclaimed, "So, so, indeed there is treachery." And, after much counsel, his conclusion was—"As by our want of vigilance all the troops are gone over to the Mahomedan, if at this time we were to dispute the matter with him, we should come off worsted; therefore, if at this time we give way, the matter must be put to rights on another occasion." Thinking thus, he withdrew from the fort with his family, carrying with him his ready money, and other valuables, and went to Negapatam.

After his departure Rustam-Khan confined *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker*, with his crowned wives, within the palace (*Mahl*); and placed sentries all around it to keep it under close observation, these being all of them Mahomedans: he then took

possession of the kingdom. But *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker*, shut up as he was in the palace, taking counsel, wrote a letter to *Kilaven*, the *Sethupathi*, to the following purport—"A Mahomedan, who was a hired soldier, has acted in this way; and having put us under restraint, has usurped the kingdom. In consequence you must assemble a strong force, and come at this critical time to our relief." This letter he privately confided to a friend, and sent it by him to Ramnad. So soon as the *Sethupathi* had seen the letter he manifested great anger; and said to those around him, "Do ye see a Mahomedan boy has overturned the capital;" and, on the instant, summoning his own forces, amounting to twenty thousand men, *Kilaven Sethupathi*, by forced marches, night and day, arrived at Trichinopoly; and, shutting up the fort, fought against it: while Rustam-Khan, heading his troops on the ramparts, fought against the besiegers. Meantime some friends of *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker* softly opened one of the fort-gates, and gave a private signal to the *Sethupathi's* people. Observing and understanding this, the *Sethupathi* with his people entered the fort, and slew the Mahomedans, until there was not one of them left in the fort; those not killed being driven outside. Next proceeding to the palace, he slew, or threw (over the walls), all the Mahomedan guards; and then sent to tell the king of all the trouble which he had taken.* Thereupon the king, being much rejoiced, came out; and proceeding to the hall of the throne, gave to *Kilaven-Sethupathi* many jewels and other presents; besides which he bestowed on all the troops which had followed that leader as many rich dresses as they could conveniently carry, together with money; and confirmed to them the possession of the *Sethu* country, even as heretofore. He then attended to the due regulation of the affairs of the kingdom; and re-called his younger brother, who had gone to Negapatam. He also performed many charities; built many *agraharas* and many *Saiva* and *Vaishnava* temples; and had many water reservoirs excavated. While attending to these, and similar public acts of munificence, *Sri-Raja-Choka natha-Naicker* reigned twenty-six years, from *Paritabi* year down to *Isvara* year; and protected the kingdom; being illustrious for deeds of charity, and also for those of war. He then obtained *Vaicontha*. This was in S.S. 1620 (A.D. 1698).

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* The reader will have perceived in several instances that the two MS. authorities adduced differ in circumstantials, but agree in the general results.

REIGN OF *RANGA-KISTNA-NAICKER.*

Subsequently, in *Vegudaniya* year, the excellent son of *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker*, who was named *Sri-Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Naicker*, was crowned. His second in power was *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker*, to whom he gave that authority; and he himself ruled the kingdom with charitable munificence and great warlike courage.

Affair with the Mogul's slipper and Sirdars.

In those days the *Padshah* (customarily) sent to all the countries, this *Pandiya desam* only forming an exception, one of his slippers, as a *Farmana*, (or imperial mandate,) which was placed in a howdah, (on an elephant,) and was sent in charge of two Nabobs; at the head of twelve thousand cavalry, and from forty to fifty thousand infantry: the slipper was moreover fanned by two *chouries*, (fans of Thibet cows' tails,) and attended by *alavattankal*, (kind of banners,*) by umbrellas, kettle-drums, and flutes, with other insignia. In this manner (the Nabobs) placing this *Farmana* on the howdah, conducted it to the respective boundaries of the various kingdoms; and, there halting, thence sent word to the king of each country. These kings came forth at the head of large bodies of troops; paid homage to the imperial mandate; and, calling for it to their public councils, had their own ensigns abased before it: they also carried it, together with the accompanying Sirdars and troops, to their capital towns, where the mandate-slipper was placed on their thrones; where also, with polite speeches, costly presents were made to the Sirdars, with promises to attend to the imperial orders delivered, and at the same time presenting tribute money, tied up in bags. But as this *Pandiya desam* was at a great distance from the Dekhan (proper), they were not always accustomed to come so far. Notwithstanding, while *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* was reigning, the imperial mandate, with all its insignia, twelve thousand cavalry, from thirty to forty thousand infantry, and the two Nabobs, set their faces hitherward; and came to the boundary of the kingdom, to the

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* This *assemblage bizarre* was in part a mockery of Hindu idol processions; in part an imitation of royal state. As nothing could be more arrogant, so nothing could be more insulting.

north of Trichinopoly, at Uttatur and Volcondah, where they halted. The Nabobs thence sent an *Inayitthu-nameh*, (or authoritative message,) by peons with silver sticks and silver breast-plates, to Trichinopoly, to inform *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Vira-pa-Naicker* that the imperial mandate was arrived. Accordingly the silver breast-plated *Chob-dars* delivered the said message in the presence of the king, with the connected intelligence. As the king was young, he inquired of the Sirdars about him what this meant. They replied, " It is the *Padshah's-Farmana;* that is, a slipper placed in a howdah, attended with various banners and troops, which is sent to the rulers of kingdoms; and these kings go forth to meet it; treat it with respect; take it, with those that accompany it, to their capital; give presents to these, and paying to them tribute money, send them away. As this is the established rule, and the mandate is now sent to this capital, we also must treat it in the same respectful manner." On hearing this statement and advice the king was angry; but took the *Inayitthu-nameh*, and giving presents, and as much money as they desired, to the silver breast-plated *Chob-dars* that brought it, he directed them to go and tell the Nabobs that his bodily health was not good. But he also despatched the *Dalakarten*, and other suitable persons, giving them these instructions—" You will go to these Nabobs, and say, 'Our king is unwell, but if you will come to *Samiyaveram*, on the other bank of the river Coleroon, then the king will come out to meet you;' and for the rest, by every device or stratagem, you will manage to conduct that *Farmana*, and the Nabobs, to our city." With these orders he sent them away. Accordingly they placed the king's command on their heads, and proceeded to the place where the mandate was posted: on seeing the Nabobs, and other great men who brought it, these angrily demanded the reason why the king was not come? The *Dalakarten* and others, with self-command, replied, "As our king is very unwell, and since he has directed this information to be conveyed to you, and also invites the whole of your body, we request you to come to *Samiyaveram*, on this bank of the Coleroon river, whither our king will proceed." The *Chob-dars* to whom they had confided their message also, said the same. Thereupon they placed the *Farmana* in the howdah; and, setting out with all the troops, came to *Samiyaveram*, on the further bank of the Coleroon; when, addressing the people from Trichinopoly, they said with anger

"What! has not your king come hither also?" These, with great softness, replied, "Come near to Trichinopoly, he will meet you there." Accordingly, accompanied by the mandate, they crossed the Coleroon and the Cauvery; and came close to Trichinopoly. As the king did not come thither, the Nabobs and Sirdars became excessively angry; when the *Dalakarten*, and the others, labored much to appease them, and said, "As our king is exceedingly ill, he will come in a palanquin just within the fort gate." Previously to this time *Raja-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* had given orders to the keepers of the gate to allow the elephant bearing the *Farmana*, with its attendant Sirdars and principal men, to come withinside the fort; but not to allow the passage of the rest of the troops. Afterwards they came inside the fort with the *Farmana*, when with anger they said, "Is your king not come? have you such obstinate pride?" But the others said, "Our king, from the effects of sickness, is not able to enter a palanquin; come with us to the gates of the palace." They accordingly came with the mandate to the gates of *Sri-Ranga-Kistnapa-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker's* palace. As the king still did not appear, they came still closer to the palace entry; when, thinking that a want of respect was implied by waiting there, they took the mandate from the howdah, placed it in a palanquin, and, not without anger, carried it into the hall of the throne. Meanwhile *Sri-Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* had invested himself with all the paraphernalia of his dignity; and, in the midst of a great number of his friends, was seated on his throne. When the *Padshah's* Nabobs, and principal men, having taken the *Farmana* in their hands, had brought it into the hall of the throne, seeing that the king did not pay the smallest token of respect, either to the *Farmana*, or to themselves, they were excessively angry; and, pushing aside such persons as stood in their way in the hall of audience, they came near and offered to give the *Farmana* into the hands of the king. The king, being very angry, bid them place it on the floor. But paying no attention to his command, and not putting (the slipper) down, they again offered to give it into his hands. Thereupon the king called for people with whips; and adding, "Will the *Padshah's* people put the *Farmana* down or not? let us see," further summoned people with ratan canes. As the king was calling aloud, they became terribly afraid, and put the *Farmana*

down on the floor. The king, seeing this, placed one of his feet within the slipper; then addressing the people, said, "How comes it that your *Padshah* has lost even common sense? When sending foot-furniture for such kind of persons as ourselves, why does he not send two slippers instead of one? Therefore do you speedily go back, and bring hither another slipper." While he thus spoke they answered with all the vivacity of anger. On which the king became excessively incensed, and had them all beaten and driven away. In consequence, on going outside of the fort, they assembled all their troops and began to make war. The king, on hearing this intelligence, sent outside the fort five thousand cavalry, and a great force of infantry, which fell upon the *Padshah's* troops, and cut them up piecemeal. As they could not make a successful stand, they ran away; and reported these occurrences to the *Padshah*. He, thinking on the matter, considered that if he were, for the future, to send such a message, the disgrace done to it now, by the daring of one, would be imitated by others; he was therefore induced, by this high bearing of *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, thenceforwards to cease the sending of the *Farmana* to the different rulers of countries.

Adventure of the king at Tanjore.

While *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, who had flogged and driven them (the Nabobs) away, was ruling with singular boldness and warlike courage, he sent for the Sirdars who belonged to him; and, giving them a strict charge to follow him with their troops at some distance, he one day, towards evening when the heat of the day was abated, mounted a very fleet horse, and going out by the eastern gate, when he had proceeded to some little distance, he turned his horse's head towards Tanjore. *Sri-Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, thus alone, patting his horse, proceeded with extreme courage, unattended, and with only one horse, into a foreign country, without the smallest hesitation. In the evening, when it was dark, he mingled with those who came out of that city; and then, turning his horse's head, entered, with those who were again returning thither, into the fort of Tanjore. Proceeding with them to the bazar street, he went up to a *chetty*

(bazar shopkeeper), and said to him, "My dwelling place is *Kolva-kodi:** I am newly arrived at this town to-day, my attendants therefore are not with me, nor have I the requisite supplies: go, take the needful concern, and buying them, bring them to me; the money-box is coming, but meantime advance me one pagoda† on the deposit of this ring." He received this advance; and then, by the assistance of this same *chetty*, he had his horse tethered, gram‡ and grass being put before it; while he took up his own quarters in an *agrahara* (Bramin-choultry), and partook of fruits and milk: when for a quarter pagoda expended, he gave the entire pagoda to the *chetty*, to his no small joy, rendering him alert in his attention, and inducing him of his own accord to bring and present betel and tobacco leaf, with like sundries.

Subsequently, in the first watch of the night, *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* disguised himself as a sepoy, with cap, jacket, trowsers, belt, and shield; and, with slippers on his feet, entered the king's palace on foot, in the dark; and, proceeding to the hall of the throne, sat down for a short time near to the king. As soon as he had comprehended the nature of the affair immediately under discussion, he rose up, and proceeded to take a very exact survey of every part about the whole of the palace; and, having done so, he wrote on the door leading from the hall of the throne to the private apartments, "On such a day we, *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, of Trichinopoly, came hither, and having learned all the news at this place, left it and went away." Having thus written, he quitted the palace, and returned to his quarters for the night. Rising up on the following morning he called the *chetty*, and said, "As the money-box is not come, we will send you your pagoda; you will then return the ring." Then calling for his horse, and mounting, he set off at full speed, and with the highest possible glee, until he returned to Trichinopoly, and entered his own palace. He forthwith sent for the *Stanapathi*, (ambassador) of Tanjore, and said to him, "We went to your king's town; entered into the city, surveyed the whole of it; and in such a place wrote our name. And seeing that we left our ring with such a *chetty*, write to your king to take and send it. Your king does not

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* A fictitious name, but compounded of words signifying a sceptre and ten millions.

† Three and a half rupees, or about seven shillings. ‡ A kind of pulse, *Glycine Tomentosa*.

maintain a proper circumspection. As there is no hatred between him and ourselves, and as your king is a just and charitable prince, we did nothing to your king, but left and came away. However had another one, like ourselves, penetrated so far, he might have slain the king, thrown him out of doors, and then returned. But write and ask, if it be proper for a king thus to be destitute of a proper guard?" The ambassador accordingly wrote to his king a full detail of all these circumstances. On this letter reaching the king, and his ascertaining the contents, he was beyond measure surprised; and, after reflecting on them awhile, he passed from the hall of the throne, and read what was written on the door of the private apartments. He also sent for the *chetty;* and, giving him ten pagodas for the one advanced, took from him the seal ring, and sent it forthwith to the Trichinopoly king. From that time forwards he had the palace and the fort very carefully watched, stationing a guard of soldiers at the western gate, ordering them to close the same in case at any time the Trichinopoly king should come out from the eastern gate of his own fortress: he thus kept up a constant vigilance.

Adventure of the King at Ariyalur.

In the possession of the people of *Ariyalur-Palliyam,* there were four extremely valuable, and in the world unparalleled, things: the camel called *Rama-Lacshmana,* the sword called *Chinna-rama-Banam,* the elephant called *Rana-Vira-Badra,* and the white horse named *Mutthu-kuchu.* These four things having been very highly estimated by the kings who had preceded *Raja-ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker,* they desired to obtain them; but finding they could not get them by voluntary permission, they treated the refusal with silent contempt, without any appeal to force. *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* having inquired into these circumstances, and comprehended them, and considering how he could manage so as to bring those four things into his own possession, ordered a white horse, of great fleetness, to be brought; and mounting it, he went out of Trichinopoly by the north gate, leading on his horse, at a swift rate, on the road toward *Ariyalur;* having previously inquired as to the road, of which he took notes and put them into his pocket. On reaching *Ariyalur,* the men who kept the gate disputed his entrance; which

impediment he treated with contempt; and, forcing his way, entered within the enclosure of the palace of the *Nayanar*, who was the chief of that *Palliyam*. Dismounting there, he tied his horse to one of the pillars, and sat down on the *Metta*, or elevated seat, under the verandah of the palace. He there called to him the warders of the gate, and bid them go and tell their *Nayanar*, that *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* was come to the entry. They accordingly entered into the interior, and delivered the message to the *Nayanar* as they had been told to do. As soon as he heard that speech, though he was then bathing, he put aside the materials he was using, hastily got himself ready, and proceeded, with his children and people, taking in his hands a golden dish in which were various jewels wrought in gold and silver, which he brought to the king at the gate, and placed at his feet; falling down before him, and then waiting submissively to receive his commands. Meantime the Sirdars, learning that the king had left Trichinopoly, and was gone alone on horseback to *Ariyalur*, immediately assembled five thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry, and took the road leading towards *Ariyalur*. The people belonging to this place seeing a great multitude approaching, being afraid, ran as fast as they could and reported the circumstance to the *Nayanar*. The latter, addressing the king, said, "What is this my Lord? You have given orders for all your army to move, and you yourself have first come, and alone. What is the cause of coming hither? Let the work or service be what it might, should a letter of orders arrive even while I sleep, I should most certainly come. What fault have I committed? O divinity! whatever is the cause of your coming, I beseech you tell me. And now a great force is advancing from Trichinopoly. Will this town be able to support so numerous a host?" While he thus besought the king, the latter despatched orders to his Sirdars to halt, and not to come to *Ariyalur*. And when the *Nayanar* still besought the king to state the purpose of his coming, the king said to him, "There is with you the very valuable pearl-camel called *Rama-Lacshmana*, the sword called *Chinna-Rama-Banam*, the white horse called *Mutthu-Kuchu*, the elephant named *Rana-Vira-Badra*, these four things: is it not so? These you must give to us." He replied, "Was it needful for such trifles for the king to come hither? Had a letter been written requiring me to send them, they

would have been despatched on the instant." He thus replied with a great deal of loyalty; and forthwith ordered the camel, the sword, and the white horse, to be brought, and placed before the king, saying, "My lord, these three things you may forthwith carry away; the elephant *Rana-Vira-Badra* is however just now in a furious state, and suffers no man to come near him, but rushes upon them; when the temporary fit is past I will send him." The king hereupon took the three things offered, and sent them in charge of suitable persons to Trichinopoly; then addressing the *Nayanar*, he said, "Thou must not think that we (*memu*, excluding the person spoken to) cannot conduct the elephant; we understand how: let it be brought." The *Nayanar* replied, "My Lord, that elephant is exceedingly furious; if he see a white horse he will rush at it, let it go wheresoever it may. Now you are mounted on a white horse." But the king heeded not this caution: he said, "Never mind, bring that elephant chained before us, and then cast off the chain." The *Nayanar* assented to the command; and, not without great trouble, brought the elephant near to the king; when the restraint was taken off, and the elephant set at liberty; while those present retired to a distance: then the king, being mounted on a white horse, drew near to the elephant; and on the latter perceiving both the horse and him, it began the pursuit with great rage. As the horse, on which the king was mounted, was a very courageous animal, the king kept it in constant management; sometimes bringing its head to front the elephant; loosing the bridle and flying when pursued; and, when the elephant stopped, halting and bringing the horse near until pursued again: so that the pursuit, on the whole, was a hot one. In this way *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, by a skilful device, succeeded in bringing the elephant within the fort of Trichinopoly; when, summoning a great number of elephant drivers, the elephant was mastered by stratagem, and bound with strong chains; after which a deep ditch was dug around it, for the greater security. The king then alighted from his horse; which, owing to its great exertions made in running, no sooner was relieved of its harnessing than it fell down and died. But all the people were rejoiced at the success of the enterprise. The king entered into his palace; and exhibiting to the Sirdars and all his friends the four valuable things which he had brought from *Ariyalur*, he manifested the greatest

joy. He continued to rule with great courage and distinguished equity; and was very popular with all classes of the people.

Adventure at Tinnevelly.

The charge of the Tinnevelly country had been given to *Tiru-Vengala-Nathaiya*, with the customary banners; and, while managing this employ, his son was accustomed to go out every night in public procession round the town, seated in a lofty howdah, on the back of an elephant; clothed in rich perfumed dresses; covered with ornaments; with numerous lights, musicians, dancers, and the other usual accompaniments of such spectacles. The daily expense on this account was five hundred pagodas. While these things were going forward, two or three persons belonging to the principal town went to the presence of the king, and said, "The son of *Tiru-Vengala-Nathaiya*, the chief of Tinnevelly, daily makes an expenditure of the *Sarcar* money (revenue) to the extent of five hundred pagodas, and carries himself with more than royal state and splendor in his processions, seated in a howdah. He thus wastes the whole of the revenue." On their thus truly reporting the matter in the presence of *Sri-Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, the king on hearing the account said, "Well, this must be ascertained;" and giving directions for a certain number of troops to follow, he himself set out alone, mounted on a fleet horse; and taking the road leading to Tinnevelly, urged forward his horse at a speedy pace. Not far from Tinnevelly he saw an old *Sudra* woman, belonging to a village, carrying a kind of millet* in a pan, and butter-milk in a pot, to her son who was working in the rice fields; and, as he was somewhat faint and exhausted, he called to her saying, "Old woman! what is that which thou art carrying?" She replied that she was taking butter-milk and *Kuru* to her son. The king desired her to give him some of it, as he was a good deal exhausted; but she, addressing him, replied, "O *Maha-Raja!*† you are to look at like the son of a god; is this fit for you?" Thereupon the king took from her only a little of the butter-milk; and inquiring her own name, and that

* *Kuru, sesamum orientale.*

† The common people apply this title indiscriminately to persons of rank superior to themselves.

of the town where she dwelt, he wrote it down on paper, which he put in his pocket; then, patting his horse, proceeded. It must be noted, that before the king had set out, a notice of his coming had been sent forward, with instructions to have suitable halting places,* at every ten miles distance, got ready, and properly decorated. Such being the case, the king, on reaching *Sattur*, went to the place which the *Amildar*, (head man) of that *taluk* (district), had prepared and adorned; and, descending from his horse, which he tied to one of the posts of the *pandal* (booth), he then entered within-side, where he sat down. Thereupon the persons watching the place, not knowing that he was the king, said to him, "This place is specially prepared for our king, attending his coming; and it is needful for us to know on what right or pretence thou art come hither, taking the liberty to tie thy horse, and entering thyself to sit down." The king replied to them with gentleness, "As we are much fatigued, after resting here a very little while, we will again proceed." But they, not assenting, bid him contemptuously depart: besides which other language and commands,† of a peculiarly degrading character, were added by them. The king very mildly told them he would do as they ordered; just at which time the Sirdars and their troops, who, because the king was gone forward alone, had greatly expedited their march, galloped up; and seeing that the king had halted there, they all rendered him homage by prostration. The warders of the place discovering that this was the king, became terribly frightened, and ran away. The *Taluk-Amildar*, and other authorities of the place, now came to see the king; who told the *Amildar* to call the warders: on his representing that they were greatly afraid, and had been guilty of a great fault, through ignorance, beseeching for their forgiveness, the king said, "They were actuated by zeal and devotedness to ourselves; though at the time they did not know us: they are not culprits." On their being brought at his command, he gave them lands, and (*mirasikal*) rights of inheritance. He afterwards proceeded, together with the whole of the troops, to Tinnevelly; and there took up

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* *Mejil*, the original is full of the like *Dekhini* or *Hindustani* terms; showing how much influence the language of Mahomedans had acquired over aboriginal dialects. The same remark in a lesser degree applies to nearly all our MSS. in the later portions of them.

† The original not being quite fit for verbal translation, the substance only is given.

his abode in the splendidly adorned palace. The chief, *Tiru-Vengada-Nathaiya*, and others, had previously advanced to a considerable distance to meet and escort him: when arrived, he directed all disputed accounts to be brought to him and certified; and calling for the son of *Tiru-Vengada-Nathaiya*, he said, "We hear that thou every night makest a procession through the town; now thou wilt see and do this night just in the same way as thou hast been accustomed to do." But the young man was so greatly alarmed, that his flesh trembled, and his mouth refused utterance. The king perceiving this state of mind, said, "We ask thee gaily, and not in anger: do not fear, but carry on thy procession this night also." Feeling the encouragement that was intended, the young man made his procession that night with something more than the ordinary splendor. The king ascended to the top of the house in order to see the spectacle; and, being much pleased, said to the Sirdars who were around him, "This is none other than our own man: while thus enjoying his health and acquiring fame, the world will only say he is our man; and that this ceremony is ours." Then calling for the son of *Tiru-Vengada-Nathaiya*, he said to him, "We are well pleased with thee: continue therefore to do as thou hast been accustomed." He at the same time gave him a *sannad* (grant) for the daily sum of five hundred pagodas. While he was staying at this place he ordered the building of several *agraharas*, temples, and choultries; and also visited the different temples there existing. The whole of the *Palliya-carers* (of that district) came to pay their respects, bringing much treasure and many valuable ornaments; when the king bestowed presents in return on each of them. The news being written and sent to *Maliyalam*, that the king was come to Tinnevelly, the king of that country sent twelve elephants, some horses, and a quantity of treasure, and ornaments of price. The king thus remained some time at Tinnevelly, and then proceeded to the Dindigul country: where he had *agraharas* built; and he also directed a few *agraharas* to be constructed in the *Darapuram* district.

In this manner the king (during his life) had many *agraharas*, temples, and *mandabams*, built, and many reservoirs for water excavated, in all the provinces. He was also munificent in presents of money, cows, and similar things, to Bramins and others: being equally charitable and brave. The king besides never married more

than one wife. He thus ruled nine years, from *Vegudaniya* year down to *Vijia* year. Subsequently *Raja-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker* obtained *Vaicontha:* this was in the *Sagartam* era 1629 (A.D. 1707).

At the time of *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker's* decease his queen, named *Muttamal*, was in an advanced stage of pregnancy; but was steadfastly purposed to burn herself with the dead body of her husband. *Mangamal*, (the late king's mother,) together with others, addressing her, who, without being sorry at the death of her husband, was animated by her purpose, said to her, "What evil thing is this that thou art meditating; was it ever yet known in the world that one thus advanced in a state of pregnancy burnt herself with the body of her husband? If this be now done, it will be a most dreadful crime of infanticide." While in this manner they reasoned and remonstrated with her at great length, she gave no heed to them; but they finding her silent, though not persuaded, proceeded thus—"Well, if after thy delivery, thou still desirest it, then leave the child to the city, and do according to thy mind." On making this proposal, *Muttamal* said to them all, "If there be a certainty of my being allowed to enter the fire after I shall have brought to the birth, then let it now be so fixed;" and she accordingly prescribed an oath to this effect, which was taken. She next appointed a village in order to furnish the expenses for a daily anointing the images of *Minatchi* and *Suntaresvarer*, at Madura, with *ghee;** and the village called *Villapuram*, in a district to the south of Madura, was appropriated by a fixed endowment for this purpose. The revenue of that village is so employed down to the present time.

Thus *Muttamal* was somewhat pacified for a short time, when she gave birth to a son: and at the instant of birth a village in the Tinnevelly district was given to the Bramins as the queen's alms-house. They gave to the child the name of *Vijia-*

* A preparation from milk, forming a kind of butter, which being melted by heat, runs into an oil. It is used in large quantities for the *homa*, or sacrifice by fire; and daily in most temples (so called by us in courtesy) for anointing the images. The reader will however observe that a small portion of the offering is thus used; while by far the largest goes to better use in the household economy of the Bramins. In all households it is a staple article; supplying, with rigid *Hindus*, the place of animal food.

Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker; and bestowed much money in charitable donations. *Muttamal* observing four days after the birth of the child to have elapsed, thought within herself, "the people within the chamber have no intention of facilitating my entering the fire:" thereupon, putting away the child to a distance, she drank rose-water, without any one knowing it; and thus, bringing on a severe cold, she obtained *Vaicontha*. *Mangamal*, on learning this circumstance, was greatly afflicted; but took the child *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker*, and causing it to be nourished by the milk of nurses, she reared it up, and watched over it with much solicitude. When *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker* was three months old he was crowned, and *Mangamal* took upon herself all the cares of government, as regent for her grandson.

We have thus gone through a section of our leading Manuscript, which, owing to the fullness of illustration brought to bear on it from the Mackenzie MSS. and the valuable character of some of the details, may be possibly considered to be one of peculiar interest. Any remarks on the whole or particular parts, or noting of discrepancies in minor portions of the evidence though mutually sustained by an agreement in important results, will, we presume, be as obvious to readers as to ourselves; and need not, by consequence, be offered: especially if infringing on more valuable documentary matter, yet in reserve. We must however note a few things: and first, that the writer of the Manuscript (Appendix, p. 35, No 4.) gives a different view of the Tanjore catastrophe, by representing the Mahrattas as called in by the king of Trichinopoly to act against his neighbour;* and makes *Vijia-Ragava* (whom he terms the fourth sovereign after *Sevapa-Naicker)* to have been slain by the Mahrattas, just in front of a pagoda, in the god of which the said *Vijia-Ragava* placed peculiar confidence. Our own opinion is, that the narrative in the Telugu manuscript heretofore given, as it is more minutely circumstantial, so it is apparently better founded, and more trust-worthy, as an authority. From some internal evidence we conclude most strongly, that the Manuscript, No. 4, referred to, is written by the same author as No. 3; that is by *Vedanaigen*, a Christian in the employ of Colonel Mackenzie; and though there are portions of both which are very valuable, yet we see reasons to receive either, as an authority, only with great precaution and qualification. Both however may possibly merit to be brought out into open day; and till that can be done, criticism would be either obscure or superfluous. The

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* Colonel Wilkes, (vol. 1, chap. 3.) on the contrary, makes the Mahrattas to be called in by the king of Tanjore to aid him against the king of Trichinopoly; stating the case in a general way: the probability is, that our Telugu MS. gives the more exact minutiæ of the business.

manner of the death of the generous, but somewhat rash, young king *Vijia-Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, is not given in the preceding authority; but in one of the *Lettres-edifiantes, &c.* * by a jesuit missionary, it is stated to have been caused by smallpox. The general accordance in this letter with the state of circumstances at that period, induces us to infer that the statement may be depended upon.

The Carnataca Dynasty places the death of this prince in S. S. 1617 (A. D. 1695), and the manuscript just preceding in S. S. 1629 (A. D. 1707). The above-mentioned letter is dated in December 1700, and expressly mentions *Mangamal* as regent for her grandson *Ranga-Mutthu-Virapa-Krisnapa-Naiken*, as he is therein named. As we consider this last authority perfectly valid, we presume the Telugu manuscript must err in the date, especially as the Carnataca Dynasty subsequently grafts in with the first date given by Mr. Orme tolerably well. The question of chronology, and especially in the higher dates, is, as observed p. 122, yet left open for general comparison; and, if possible, final adjustment.

As regards the embassy from Tanjore seeking for aid to recover that capital from *Alagiri-Naicker*, it seems that the manuscript is correct, in stating the application to have been made at *Visiapur* (or Bijapur), the capital of one of the five principalities into which the preceding *Bhamini* empire became divided; and of which city extensive and magnificent remains exist down to the present day. According to Colonel Wilkes,† the sultan was too much occupied in guarding against the designs of the Mogul emperor of Delhi, to be at leisure to spare any portion of his own strength for so distant an enterprise; in consequence of which he wrote to *Ekoji* at Bangalore, recommending him to undertake the affair; which the latter, though independent of the sultan, thought proper to do, calculating thereby on forwarding his own interests, in the sequel not forgotten.

The affair of the Mogul's slipper is so singular, that we know not whether it be simple truth or rodomontade. This *padshah* clearly could not be that of Bijapur, whose power had now fallen before the ambitious but false policy of Aurungzebe; who, for the safety of his own empire, ought to have supported the sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, instead of reducing them to nothing, and thereby paving the road to extensive empire for the Mahrattas. The incident of the Firman seems to us referable to the pride of Aurungzebe, who styled the native princes merely zemindars, and aimed, with no reserve, at the entire subjugation of all the south of India. It is stated by Ferishta,‡ that Zulfecker-Khan, his general, committing matters nearer home to subordinate chiefs, made a long journey to Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and received contributions from the zemindars of those capitals. If this be the reference in question, then the Hindu and Mahomedan accounts altogether differ. No circumstantials are stated by Ferishta, and Mahomedan *hauteur* might not tolerate an admission so humiliating as the account by the native historian; whose narrative, being minute and very circumstantial, seems likely to be nearest the truth. But what the exact truth may be, or whether this be the precise circumstance in question by both writers, we undertake not to determine.

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* Du P. Martin au P. le Gobien. † Vol. 1, chap. 3, p. 78, 79. ‡ Scott's Translation, Vol. 2, p. 80.

Assisted by Colonel Wilkes' history of Mysore, we would gladly make the accounts adduced by him from native authorities agree with those contained in the preceding extracts, were it possible; but, exclusive of some discrepancies in dates and names, it would seem as if the native writers on either side, endued with the *amor patriæ*, adduced respectively only what makes for the credit of their own countries: mutually leaving to each other the opposite items. What we can do in this matter we will attempt. According to Colonel Wilkes, the Mysore king, *Canty-Reva-Narsa-raj*, in 1653, descended the Gujelhutty pass, and took *Denaikancotta*, *Sattimungul*, with other places, from *Vencatadry-Naicker*, brother of the raja of Madura, and brought home an immense booty: he also captured many *taluks* from *Virapa-Naicker* of Madura.* This apparently is the invasion which *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker* is represented as having repelled; † but the date does not very well agree with the reign of *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, which, according to the Carnataca Dynasty, was from 1590 to 1622; though we cannot be sure of the precise accuracy of these dates. The Mysore annals say nothing of the repelling of the invasion. Further, Colonel Wilkes states that in 1667 *Chuckapa-Naick*, of Madura, had meditated the entire conquest of Mysore, though the expectation was entirely reversed, and Erroor *(Irodu)* and Darapoor *(Tara-puram)* remained as fixed conquests of Mysore; while contributions were levied on Trichinopoly. These things occurred in the reign of Dud-Deo-raj, which extended from 1659 to 1672. Now here Chuckapa (or *Choka-natha)* must be a mistake, for he did not begin to reign till after 1667. The facts agree pretty well with the narrative in the account of the Poligar *Rangana-Naicker;* and if so, the period is fixed to the reign of *Tirumala-Naicker*, whom one account makes to have reigned till 1684. The Mysore king is therein named *Deva-Rayer-Udiyar*, the same thing as Deo-raj with the title of *Udiyar*. The invasion of Mysore under *Ramapaiyen* is spoken of as founded on a preceding aggression, and ending very differently; though certainly the recall of *Ramapaiyen*, and other circumstances, cast a shade of doubt over the stated result. But just at the close of *Tirumala-Naicker's* reign the Mysoreans repeated the aggression. This perhaps is intended by contributions raised on Trichinopoly (country). It was seriously met; and, in this affair, the Telugu account confirms that in the narrative of the Poligar. Warlike operations between the two countries did not again occur until a period subsequent to the one to which we as yet are come; consequently more suitably the subject of future notice. So far the general results, though not strictly accordant, are not very greatly short of a tolerable approximation.

There is however a very different subject, and one not alluded to in any of the manuscripts, which may nevertheless demand in this place, at least, a passing notice. This is the establishment of the famous Roman Catholic Mission, at Madura and adjacent districts. The College *de propaganda fide* was founded at Rome in 1622, by Pope Gregory XV. To this a preparatory seminary for education of the missionaries was attached, at the instance of John Baptist Villes a Spanish nobleman, by Pope Urban VIII. Two other similar institutions arose in France, founded in 1663 and 1664.‡ Among a great number of missionaries sent out by these institutions, it fell to the lot of Robert de Nobili to found

* Vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 54. † See p. 169. ‡ Mosheim, Cent. xvii. sec. 1.

the mission at Madura. Aware of existing prejudices against *Feringhies*, that is Franks, or Europeans, he adopted the habit and manners of the *Sanniassis;* and gave himself out for a descendant from Brama; sustained by the evidence of a document asserting the superior antiquity of the Bramins of Rome, when compared with those of India; and not scrupling, it is said, to add the solemnity of an oath to support the assertion: which, indeed, as an accomplished Jesuit, he might, with the aid of some casuistry and mental equivocation or reservation, reconcile with conscience, or regard as absolvable, or even praiseworthy, the end sanctioning the means; but which, in the sense in which it would be taken by the natives, was an unjustifiable falsehood. As a man of family and of education, it is pity that the vile principles of the Jesuits should have spoiled him; and that, by following these principles, he should have detracted from the high praise that he would have deserved as the founder of this afterwards flourishing mission; in which charity would hope that good was done, notwithstanding the extremely corrupt form of religion introduced. De Nobili brought over twelve Bramins,* who were instrumental in inducing multitudes to hear and receive the doctrines which he taught. The period must have been in the reigns of *Choka-natha-Naicker* and *Ranga-Kistnapa-Naicker*, when the court was held at Trichinopoly. The mission languished after his death; but was revived by Portuguese and French Jesuits, who adhered to the austere system of the founder. Another mission was established by the Portuguese fathers in the district of *Marava*, the country of the *Sethupathi;* which became the most distinguished next to that of Madura. The *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, being copies of those transmitted to Europe by the French Jesuits, contain many very interesting details on these matters, and one narrative of the martyrdom of John De Brito of surpassing pathos The narrative is too long for translation and insertion in this place, but its substance is the following.

After John De Brito had labored some time in *Marava*, with considerable success, he was compelled to retire by persecution. His *confreres*, to prevent his hazarding his life by returning, sent him to Portugal, on important affairs. He there acquired the esteem of the king, who entreated him to remain, offering him ample provision; but he preferred returning to his former people. When again among them, a relative of the ruling *Sethupathi*, was cured, as alleged, of a dangerous disorder by the simple reading of the New Testament at his bed-side. This person, named *Tiria-deven*, who was not without right to the chieftainship itself, desired to become a Christian, and besought P. De Brito to give him baptism, which the missionary declined to do, so long as he lived in polygamy. *Tiria-deven*, to show his sincerity, informed his five wives of his resolution to provide amply for their maintenance; but to retain only one. The youngest received this announcement with the most lively remonstrances; which, not being effectual, she carried her complaints to her uncle *Ragunathen*, the *Sethupathi.* The lady also engaged the head Bramin, with others of his tribe, in the same cause. As no instances could move *Tiria-deven*, the *Sethupathi* arrested De Brito, and had him brought in chains to Ramnad; numerous indignities being heaped on him by the way. In accordance with the notions of the period, the *Sethupathi* told his

* Mosheim, Cent. xvii. sec. 1, para. 7.

refractory relative that he would have his teacher killed by the power of *mantras*. And it seems that one of a powerful kind was tried; but the failure being attributed to some unnoticed error in the process, it was tried again without success: whereupon a still more malignant incantation was had recourse to; and, this also failing, the *Sethupathi* told the father that he would see if he was *mantra*-proof to bullets, actually giving orders to a band of soldiers for the purpose; but here *Tiria-deven* interposed, and, from a strong attachment to him in the minds of the soldiers, the *Sethupathi* perceived the symptoms of insurrection, which he thought proper to avoid, by sending the father to *Udiya-deven*, the *Sethupathi's* brother, at *Uriyur*, on the confines of the Tanjore country. This brute, who was lame, at first received the prisoner kindly, and bidding him employ his supposed miraculous powers to heal the lameness, promised, on that condition, to spare his prisoner's life. But the missionary told the patient, that he possessed no power of the sort, and that such a cure could only come from the Supreme. Enraged at the reply, as not perceiving or understanding its propriety, but attributing it to want of will, the *Udiyan* ordered the death of the prisoner. He was carried out at noon to a scaffold, erected for the purpose, in a plain, which was filled with spectators. He was tied to a post, and, with some previous indignities, his head was severed with a common hatchet; after which his hands and feet were cut off: and thus this land was watered with Christian blood; for a Christian he was, of no common order; of another spirit and conduct compared with Robert De Nobili. And, when we remember what kind of men were Pascal and Fenelon, though within the pale of a corrupt communion, we trust there will be found no one who would withhold a tribute of sympathy and admiration to the excellent spirit, faith, patience, and fortitude, of John De Brito.*—While we pay this tribute to an individual, we trust we shall not be mistaken as intending to approve the system which he labored, along with others, to introduce. On the contrary, we regret that exertions, so meritorious in themselves, were not made in support of a system of uncorrupted Christianity; and we add our conviction, borne out as it is by incontestable facts, that the later missionaries, at the least of the Roman Catholic persuasion, so far from rescuing idolaters from an inferior to a superior state, of piety, morality, and mental cultivation, actually bent their efforts to make Christianity palatable to depraved tastes, and welcome to ignoble minds: thereby doing all they could to lower a corrupt form of Christianity as much as possible to the level of paganism.†

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* See *Lettres edifiantes, &c.* II. Recueil. Lettre du P. F. Lainez.

† Exclusive of the many testimonies to this truth borne by Protestant observers, the reader may note the following. Le pere Dolu, writing from Pondichery to P. le Gobien, both of them Jesuits, says, "Dans la derniere solennité du jour l' Assomption de la sainte Vierge, vous eussiez ete charmé de voir les Gentils memes s'unir a nous pour contribuer a l'envi a honorer la Reine du ciel." (*Lettres*, &c. I. Recueil.) "At the last celebration of the festival of the Assumption of the holy Virgin, you would have been delighted to have seen even the Pagans themselves eagerly come forward to join with us in honoring the Queen of Heaven."

No one will doubt this who has seen the procession of the same festival at Madras. The reader may compare this passage with Jer. xliv. 17—19. It is singular that the goddess Isis and the Virgin Mary, in process of time, should have the same title. The passage in question must not be regarded as the mistake of one man; for the book containing it is recommended by an influential Jesuit to all his company; has the approbation of the Sorbonne; the permission of the Jesuit Provincial in France; and is published with the royal privilege.

We are sorry indeed to have a note of observation, and a black mark indeed it is, to make against that *Kilaven-Sethupathi*, who, in the character simply of a soldier and loyal subject, has already appeared with advantage in these pages. But he it was who so superstitiously sought to destroy John De Brito by magic, and then savagely directed him to be butchered. We derive this conclusion from various sources. In our MSS. already adduced, he is merely termed *Kilaven*, which though in the southern pronunciation it signifies *an old man*, we had supposed might be used as a proper name. The Jesuit P. Lainez says, the name of the *Marava* prince was *Ranganadadeven*, which reduced from French orthography becomes *Ragu-natha-deven*. A manuscript of the Mackenzie collection here comes in to clear away all difficulty. According to this authority, a defect of proper succession occurring, the authorities, and all qualified persons among the *Maravas*, assembled and elected *Ragu-natha-deven*, usually called *Kilaven-Sethupathi*, an event which took place in S. S. 1607, Christian era 1686;* and he ruled, it is added, thirty-seven years, which would place his death in S. S. 1644 (A.D. 1722). Now the Jesuit's letter is dated Madura, 10th February, 1693: and he says—" Vous savez qu' il y a environ six ans que *Ranga-nada-deven* prince de Maravas apres avoir fait souffrir de tres-cruels tourmens au pere Jean de Brito, lui defendit sons peine de la vie de demeurer," &c.† This prohibition was the cause of the preacher's first retreat He came to Lisbon in 1687. He returned by way of Goa, not long afterwards; and labored undisturbed for fifteen months: he wrote a short letter from prison, dated 3rd February, 1693, and his death must have taken place the same day, or day following, since the letter of P. Lainez, narrating the whole of the occurrences, as past, is dated on the tenth of the same month. Thus it is clear, that *Ranganada-deven* and *Kilaven-Sethupathi* are names of one and the same person; that he commenced his reign as a persecutor; and, under the influence of additional motives, awfully completed his first threatenings. It is also tolerably clear, that *Tiria-deven* must have been the person who was prevented from succeeding to the chieftainship, by some informality of birth; a point in which the *Maravas*, from the peculiarity of their local customs, are very particular. The rescue by *Kilaven-Sethupathi* of *Raja-Choka-natha-Naicker* from prison, is dated by our Telugu MS. some time antecedent to A.D. 1698, and by the Carnataca Dynasty previous to A.D. 1688, either of which dates would find *Kilaven* invested with power as *Sethupathi*.—We apologize to our readers for this digression; but if it have no other use, it will, at least, serve to evince the useful bearing of the Mackenzie MSS. towards the clearing up of difficulties. We may also observe, in passing, with reference to the difficulty indicated page 181, that the MS. now last alluded to makes *Sadaica-deven* to have been succeeded by his son *Kutten*, and the latter by his younger brother the *Dalavayi-Sethupathi;* whose younger brother, *Bettana-Naicker*, went to *Tirumala-Naicker*, of Madura, and complained against his elder brother the *Dalavayi*, bringing on that war before adverted to; that the *Dalavayi* was imprisoned three years, during which his younger

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* According to the MS. which marks both eras.

† " You know that it is now about six years since that *Ragu-natha-deven*, after having imposed the most cruel sufferings on the father John de Brito, forbad him, on the penalty of his life, to remain," &c.

brother ruled; was then released and crowned S.S. 1561 (A.D. 1640), after which he reigned nine years, and then died. The date of *Tirumala-Naicker's* death is not specified in the Telugu manuscript; but in the Carnataca Dynasty it is fixed at S.S. 1584 (A.D. 1662). This *Dalavayi-Sethupathi*, we learn from the Carnataca Dynasty, had for his proper name *Sadaica-deven*, being the second of that name. He died without children, and three children of his sister, who were named *Danukodi-dever*, *Ragu-natha-dever*, and *Athinarayana-dever*, divided the principality between them; until, the two others dying, *Ragu-natha-dever* succeeded to the whole, and ruled alone for twenty-six years. Thus it appears, that he began to rule conjointly with his brothers in 1649; suppose the joint rule to have been till 1655, then twenty-six years will bring us to 1681. Therefore *Ragu-natha-dever* (the first of the name) must have been *Sethupathi* both for some time previous and also at the time of *Tirumala-Naicker's* death; and his decease took place at the time of the Mysore war, when the Madura army was commanded by *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker.* We can therefore explain the expulsion of the Mysoreans, said by the Carnataca Dynasty (sec. 9) to have been effected by *Regu-natha-dever*, in no other way than by supposing that at first he had the real command, the nominal one being with the king's younger brother *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker;* that when the expulsion of the Mysoreans from the Madura territory was accomplished, *Regu-natha-dever* returned to *Tirumala-Naicker*, and was honored as there stated, while the real command now entirely devolved on *Cumara-Muttula-Naicker;* who, after encamping in the low country for some time, and having settled the newly rescued country, as stated in the Telugu manuscript (see p. 182), then ascended above the Ghauts, and fought the battle as recorded: prosecuting the war for some time, until the decease of *Tirumala-Naicker* induced him to return. In this way all points almost entirely harmonize: and when indicating the difficulty by itself, and apart from this chain of inference, to an intelligent native, he at once suggested the same explanation of a *nominal* and *real* command, as consonant with native ideas and practice. We presume therefore on the whole that this may be accepted as the true explanation.

Foreseeing that we may not find a more suitable place, we also take the liberty (adverting to p. 144) to state, that there are in the Mackenzie collection some legendary and other notices concerning Mavalivanam or Mavaliveram, not as yet maturely examined, and which, in perfect justice to more pressing matter, cannot yet be fully investigated. Perhaps therefore we ought not to attempt any account of that place from personal observations merely, when many before have seen and described the place, without at the same time making the above materials available as the only means of giving either much of novelty or interest to the proposed statement. The matter by consequence will not be lost sight of, but will be postponed; and will not appear in the Appendix, at the end of this volume. We merely note, that in the Tamil poem entitled *Ramapaiyen* (see p. 179), *Mavalivanam* is distinctly alluded to as a *kingdom* then existing, at no very great distance from the vicinity of Tanjore.

CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 11.

Upon the principle of affording corroborative manuscript testimony, we here introduce a further extract translated from the Telugu MS. already largely adduced. Not the least curious portion is the glimpse it professes to afford of the nether and unseen world.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

REGENCY OF *MANGAMAL*.

As *Mangamal* was of a good and charitable disposition, she constructed many village choultries throughout the country; and causing many Bramin children to be taught to read in them, she supplied them with food, clothing, and the like necessaries. It however happened one day, that on a nurse preparing and giving to her *betel-leaf*, she inadvertently took one portion with her left-hand; when immediately recollecting herself, she said, " We have taken *betel* with our left-hand; by so doing a great sin is committed;" and, after reflecting for a moment, she caused several well-read Bramins to be called, and inquired of them what was the appropriate penance to be performed. They replied, that if she made roads throughout the country, built choultries, and had reservoirs for water excavated, this crime would be expiated. Accordingly *Mangamal* had all the roads throughout the kingdom formed into avenues; and at the distance of every *kadam* (10 English miles) she had a choultry built; at the distance of every five *nazhikais* ($6\frac{2}{3}$ English miles) she had a water-reservoir and water-booth formed; and at the distance of every *nazhikai* ($1\frac{1}{3}$ English miles) she had a well formed with steps leading down to the water. This work being completed, she had a handsome choultry built at *Casi* (Benares).

While she was thus conducting the affairs of the kingdom, the people of Malayala ceased to send the usual revenue, or tribute-money. Hereupon she caused a great force to be collected, and sent the *Dalavayi*, *Narasa-paiyer*, at the head of the army into the Malayala country. He accordingly conducted the army thither; and conquered the people of Malayala after much fighting: he received from them the tribute-money, and also many valuable jewels, and many cannon; with the whole of which he returned to Trichinopoly. On all the guns brought from Malayala, the queen's *Dalavayi*, *Narasa-paiyer*, marked numbers in order, 1, 2, and so-forth; and these pieces of ordnance were afterwards mounted on the bastions of the forts of Trichinopoly and Madura.

As already narrated, *Mangamal* had many choultries, water-reservoirs, and *agraharas* constructed while she managed the affairs of the kingdom. The Mysore king now died; and, as having been the opposite of liberal or bountiful, he fell into

Yama-puram in *Narakam*. About the same time a *Vanniyan* (banian, or merchant) died, and was carried by *Yama's* angels to *Yama-puram;* but *Yama-Dherma-raja*, looking at him, said, "Why have you brought him? go take the person that dwells in the house next door to his, and carrying this person back, release him." While *Yama's* messengers were about to carry him back to the earth, the Mysore king, who was lying where he had fallen into *Narakam*, seeing that *Vanniyan*, thought, "That is one of our townsmen: is it not?" and calling him near, said, "*Appa!* (father!) while I was ruling over Mysore, I acquired a great deal of money, which I buried; and without doing any acts of charity, I quitted and came away. Now *Mangamal*, who rules the *Pandiya-desam*, has done a great many acts of beneficence. And on the statement that she is coming hither, they have been preparing a great many triumphal-arches of flowers, to do honor to her passage. Therefore on your return to earth, as you go to our town, proceed to my son, who rules the kingdom, and tell him that my money is in such a place: charge on him the urgent necessity of taking the whole of that money, and by performing with it a great many acts of charity, bid him procure to me its fruit, in purchasing my release from this place." The *Vanniyan* replied, "Very well." And all along that road they said, "*Mangamal* is coming;" and he saw the whole road adorned for the purpose. On returning to his town, and again entering into his body, every one near was astonished, saying, "The deceased *Vanniyan* is come to life again!" He forthwith proceeded to the palace, and said to the watchers at the gates, "I have important occasion to speak my communication to the king." They in consequence went and reported the request; and the king, giving orders for him to be brought in, asked of him, "What is the communication?" He replied, "Having proceeded to *Yama's* town, and returned, your father, who is fallen into *Narakam*, and lying there, recognizing me, called me and said, 'As I was not charitable, I have received this doom. It is reported that *Mangamal*, who rules the *Pandiya-desam*, is coming, and all the people of *Yama-puram* are preparing to render her honor; and since that lady has done many charities, they have even adorned the road by which she is to come. Therefore, in order to release me from this torment of hell, bid my son take the money which he will find in such a room, and perform with it many acts of

charity.' Such a communication your father sent me to make to you. Therefore see that it be done." He besides related the whole of the before-mentioned circumstances. But the king, considering the tale to be a fabrication, treated it lightly; and to confirm his doubts, remarked, "*Mangamal* is still alive:" at which time however *Mangamal* died, and went to *Swergam.* The Mysore ambassador transmitted this intelligence; writing to the king "On such a day, at such an hour, *Mangamal* departed this life." On receiving and reading this letter, he thought within himself "The communication brought by the *Vanniyan* must be true;" and digging in the place pointed out, he took thence the treasure which was hidden, and performed with it a great many acts of charity.

Thus the period of *Mangamal's* government was eighteen years, coming down to S. S. 1647 (A. D. 1725).

There exists an oral tradition in the town of Madura, that *Mangamal* was imprisoned and starved to death: the reference being limited to this person by her being stated to be the same that planted the avenues near at hand. The building within the fort, now, or recently at least, used as the convict's jail, is said to have been the prison wherein she was confined, by her relatives, for some fault derogatory to the family honor; but particulars we have never learnt. It is only added, that her imprisonment and death were rendered of more than an ordinarily painful character by persons being employed to bring rice, mingled with salt, close to the barred windows of her prison; and when she voraciously flew at the iron-bars, attempting to get at the food, then it was withdrawn. Whether such a fiend-like refinement in cruelty were ever practised, or the whole tale be true or otherwise, we have no means of knowing, beyond the mere tradition itself. The story is alluded to in no MS. yet seen by us; unless it may be supposed that the alleged fault is allegorized, in the native manner, by the taking of betel with the left-hand. Such a circumstance, (literally received) amidst the vast volume of native superstitions, is looked upon as demanding some trifling expiation; and if it be the real ground of *Mangamal's* benevolent works, then it may be presumed she thought her inadvertency should be expiated like a queen and regent of a kingdom. There must be either some exaggeration as to the number of choultries built and wells or water-reservoirs excavated, or else all-destroying time must since have altered the aspect of things. Her avenues however remain, more or less complete. A peculiarly fine one, still called *Mangamal's* avenue, formed by the loftiest banian trees, interlaced over-head so as to form a complete canopy, exists at a little distance to the N. E. of the fort. Other avenues branch off on the roads leading to Ramnad, Palamcottah, Dindigul, and Trichinopoly: the three first of which we have not had

opportunity of following out to any considerable distance; but that one on the road toward Trichinopoly we have traced, with intermediate breaks, to some short distance beyond Coilpettah, forty-five miles from Madura, and nearly the same distance from Trichinopoly. The extract from the Telugu MS. just adduced, explains the exaggeration of the Carnataca Dynasty when speaking of avenues planted from *Casi* to *Ramiseram* and Cape Comorin; inasmuch as a choultry it appears was built at *Casi*, or Benares; and, therefore, that the chain of her meritorious works would stretch from *Casi* to *Canya-Cumari*, no orthodox Hindu could by possibility doubt.

In a letter from Pere Martin to Pere le Gobien, already adverted to, besides much miscellaneous information as to the mission and persecution of Roman Catholic priests, or private Christians, a narrative is given of an embassy, voluntarily undertaken by father Bouchet, to *Mangamal*, who was then governing for her son. The *Dalavayi* is spoken of as possessing great fame and influence; his personal name is not stated, though evidently the same person with the *Dalavayi Narasa-paiyer*. A curious trait of his character is mentioned in his having turned some skilful bombardiers out of the service on discovering that they were *Franguis*, or Europeans. To this officer the priest had first to make his court, and experienced an unexpected, and singularly gracious, reception. The presents which he carried for *Mangamal* were a two-feet terrestrial globe, a nine-inch glass globe, magnifying and burning glasses, bracelets, looking-glasses, &c., which the *Dalavayi* himself took in and made acceptable to her. The most favorable reply is stated to have been given; and the father was paraded round the streets of the town, by order, in a royal palanquin of state; to the no small joy of the poor semi-Christians, and the defeat of the malignant purposes of their opposers. It is an *exparte* statement; yet probably does not depart much from the truth; though there are some other portions of the letter in question which apparently require to be received with some qualification.

Our readers may have paused for a moment over the singular statement of the return of the Mysore merchant from the inferior world. There is in it something that looks a little like priestcraft, to which however it will be presently seen the writer of the MS. could not have been entirely favorable: there is at the same time a valuable exposition of native ideas on this solemn subject. It differs from the Christian revelation only in the implied possibility of escape from that low and last remove; and in the means available for such escape: both points of difference being capital. It differs from the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory only as to place; *Narakam* being the lowest hell of the Hindus, agreeing substantially with Gehenna or Tartarus in the original of the New Testament; while *Pathalam*, the first of the seven descents, more strictly corresponds with the *Hades* of the Greek text. The doctrine of purgatory, generally considered, is substantially a Hindu dogma; and was known in these regions long before corrupt Christians thought of turning it to the secular advantages of a sordid, and progressively self-corrupting, hierarchy. It is implied in the funeral ceremonies after death, also imitated by Roman Catholics under the same reference. The universalist notion of purifying pains and ultimate deliverance is, and has been immemorially, a Hindu article of credence. The doctrine is expressly taught in the *Mahabharat*, a poem certainly of ancient date, towards the close of which the five

Pandavas are represented as wearied of life under the insupportable loss of all their friends; and going on a melancholy pilgrimage, accompanied by Dropidi, and followed by a mysterious dog (into which the soul of an ancestor it seems had transmigrated); walking onward continually, with no other design than that of meeting death, until one after the other falls and dies, in the inverse ratio of their ages; and, when the whole have departed, the poet follows them to the unseen world, where they are represented as observing several of their departed friends in abodes of happiness, but were told that they must not themselves proceed thither at first; and are conducted to a remote and darker region, where they have to rub off, or wear away, the stains contracted in their unnatural warfare on earth with friends and relatives, and are assured that afterwards they shall rejoin all that were ever dear to them in the brighter abodes of a superior world.

One word more, we trust, may be tolerated. In the tale of the merchant we find, at all events, a practical commentary on two apothegms of the wisest of men: one of these is, "There is a sore evil which I have seen under the sun, namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt;"* and the other is, "He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor."† The Mysore king, and his son, are the exemplification. The satire conveyed in the tale was not without a precise personal reference. Colonel Wilkes tells us of a Mysore king, who ruled about the same time as that indicated, whose money was evidently his god. He was indeed as devout as *Vijia-Ragava*, of Tanjore, in making it his first morning's duty to pay homage to *Vishnu*, carefully putting the *Vaishnava* mark on his forehead; but whose next daily task, possibly not entirely a heartless one, was to deposit forthwith two bags, each containing one thousand gold *canteria-pons*, or star-pagodas, in his treasury: after which he took his breakfast; and if, through any impediment or want of the *Piratani's* due attention, the bags were not ready, on coming from his morning prayers, then he took no breakfast till they were forthcoming. Such a superstitiously sordid soul might indeed be a fit companion in *Narakam*, or elsewhere, for the famous Anne de Montmorency, connetable, or generalissimo, of France, who was every morning uncommonly precise in reciting his *aves* and *paters*, but had a sad knack of interrupting them every now and then with—"Go hang me such a one—cut those rascals in pieces—set fire to such a village," and the like, "without much impeding his *paters;* and thinking," says his historian, "that he would have committed a great error if he had put them off to another hour, so exactly was he conscientious."‡ Our readers may, if they please, adjust the comparative merits or demerits of the superstitious man of money, and the superstitious man of blood. One advantage the king of Mysore possessed in being reputed by his people to be lord of nine crores, or ninety millions, of pagodas; and that, as the world goes, would be commonly thought no ordinary advantage. However we must grant, with the writer of the manuscript, that the scene often changes in the other world. Our Christian readers may possibly have remarked a certain degree of coincidence between the merchant's tale, and the affecting and impressive parable of the rich man and Lazarus in the gospel. The rich man in that case, however, thought not of

* Eccle. v. 13. † Pro. xxviii. 8. ‡ Brantome, Tome. 7.

escape, nor is the slightest indication favorable to the doctrine of purgatory, or purifying pains, therein afforded: he was anxious only to warn his relatives, that they might escape the like doom, and the request was not granted. Some divines, or biblical critics, have made extraordinary, and, as to us it appears, impertinent exertions to settle the question whether this should be regarded as a real narrative, or merely as a parable. Suffice it that he, who adduced the statement, knew the invisible world better than any living and merely human being: and could we draw aside the veil which no breathing-mortal has yet lifted, there would, in all probability, appear to be no lack of counterparts to the narrative, or parable; or instances even going to prove that the Mysore merchant's tale was not wholly a fable. The best thing which we can do, or any one of us whom it may immediately or remotely concern, is to see to it, if possible, that we do not add to the exemplifications an additional number.

The writer of the Telugu manuscript, after having afforded a salutary warning against the abuse of riches, seems afterwards desirous of inculcating discretion in the application of benevolence, by seeing that it be bestowed on worthy and suitable subjects; while he at the same time affords a testimony, being himself a *Hindu*, which must be of unsuspicious character, as to the trickery of Bramins, and the *arcana* of idolatry. We give what is referred to by advancing to

THE REIGN OF *VIJIA-RANGA-CHOKA-NATHA-NAICKER.*

Subsequently to the aforesaid eighteen years of *Mangamal's* regency, the sovereign power devolved on the son of *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*, who was named *Raja-Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker.* He was a very munificent prince; he built many *agraharas* and temples, had water-reservoirs formed, and continued, in this way, to rule the kingdom. Every two years he was accustomed to set out, accompanied by all his people, to visit and pay homage to the gods at *Srirangam*, *Sambukesvaram*, Madura, Tinnevelly, *Alavar*, *Tennavalli*, and *Sri-Vaicontham.* He expended much money at these places, and had the offerings and anointings with *ghee* much increased. While paying homage to the (so-called) gods in these places, which were possessed of a great many valuable ornaments, and endowed with many villages, he observed that the images were not clothed in silk and ornamented with jewels, but simply wrapped round with a plain white cloth, and with only some ten or twenty small lamps burning.* He in consequence inquired of the *Pujari*

* These lamps are usually small earthen patty-pans, with a slender proportion of oil, and one small wick; so that ten or twenty, in the larger and more gloomy temples, would barely suffice to make darkness visible.

Bramins what was the reason that lamps were not properly lighted in the shrine of the god? and why the god was not robed with jewels and becoming vestments? They replied, "O sovereign ruler! the god possesses neither jewels nor village-lands." Thereupon, without taking the pains to investigate these things, he caused many vestments to be given to the god, and from twenty to thirty thousand *Madais*, amounting to ten or fifteen thousand star-pagodas; and, leaving instructions to have the usual ceremonies and anointing with *ghee* properly attended to, he would then pass on to all the other places, and there make the like donations; after which he would return again to Trichinopoly. Again at the end of two years he would proceed on his tour to pay homage to the aforesaid shrines, while the managers of the different places would act over again the like proceedings. On such occurrences the king, *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-Natha-Naicker*, gave jewels and vestments to a larger extent than before, without inquiring what had become of the former donations. And when his men of business who were near him represented—"Sovereign lord! presents were before made to these shrines, yet we see nothing of those jewels and other things; ought not some inquiry to be made into these matters?" the king would reply, "*Harihari!* are things once given to the divinity again to be inquired after? If a garment be given to a man, and it be afterwards said "We gave it," the merit of the act be thereby nullified; then, after making any present to the gods, if it be said, "We gave it," this can be none other than a sordid sin." And he continued in all his pilgrimages to bestow vestments, money, and lands, as before-mentioned.

During these proceedings his *Dalavayi*, named *Vengata-Ragavacharya*, had managed to accumulate ready-money to the extent of a lac of pagodas,* besides valuable jewels. As he was now become old, he thought it prudent to set apart, from his accumulated riches, as much as might be suitable for himself and his children; and, after making this reserve, then to present the remainder to the king. Accordingly *Raja-Vijia-Ranga-Choka-Natha-Naicker's* generalissimo, *Vengata-Ragavaçhurya*, sent a message (to the king), to this effect—"As I am now become very old, if I could be permitted to see the king only once, my mind would be eased and

* Equal at that time to about £.40,000.

satisfied;" which message was daily and urgently repeated; and, in the expectation that the king would come, a throne was fixed in the house, ornamented with jewels. While they were indulging this expectation, it pleased the king so to condescend; and he came to the house of the *Dalavayi, Vengata-Ragavacharya.* He was made to be seated on the throne, and a great many complimentary honors were tendered to him. One thousand trays, made of ratan cane, tied together with leather thongs, had been prepared; on three hundred of which were placed pagodas, mohurs, rupees, and fanams, each kind of money distinct; on three hundred other trays were placed many golden ornaments, studded with gems; and on the remaining four hundred trays were many most costly sacred dresses: the whole of these were brought and placed before the king; when the *Dalavayi* said, that having set apart so much of his accumulations for himself and his family, the remainder of his riches belonged to the king; and, on a written document to this effect being about to be delivered, the king perceiving it exclaimed, "*Harihari!* is it to convey to me this sin? I came to thy house in consequence of thy earnest striving to effect it; whether it be only to look on these valuables pertaining to a Bramin, or to take them away, is in either case a great sin. And dost thou talk to me of such a thing?" He spoke thus with great grief; and then, looking hard at the *Dalavayi,* he added, "Under an apprehension of what might happen after thy time, and thinking me capable of the appropriation of sacred property, thou hast done this same business: thou hast no occasion to fear;" saying so, he returned to him the whole; and besides, sending to the palace for thirty thousand pagodas, he gave these to him as a royal present, saying, "Set aside as much of this as thou requirest, and with the rest of the money perform acts of munificence and charity." On leaving this command he forthwith returned to the palace, whence he distributed many gifts of cows, elephants, and boiled rice, in order to expiate the sin of having looked on a Bramin's property.

He thus ruled the kingdom with exemplary equity. *Raja-Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker* reigned twenty-two years; and then obtained *Vaicontha.* This was S.S. 1669 (A.D. 1747).

It will be tolerably evident to the reader, that this Bramin, who held the office of *Dalavayi* in this reign, must have had both a knowledge of his master's foible, and also a secret understanding with the *Pujari* Bramins of the different temples mentioned, so as to have shared at least with them and their gods in the presents so liberally bestowed by this generous but superstitious prince. A sort of conjecture involuntarily arises, that the king must have had something on his conscience which he sought to alleviate by such profuse offerings to shrines and temples; the same being, according to native ideas, a propitiation for any, even the most deadly, sin. As a veil hangs over the fate of *Mangamal*, which the native historians do not lift, we shall not presume to pry beyond it; but will give this swearing superstitious prince all the credit due to generosity, which has in it always that which is attractive: though we do not admire the precise mode of its display. In the Appendix G the reader will find an anecdote recorded of the behaviour of this prince to some ambassadors from Ceylon, further elucidating his aversion to any other caste or religion than his own. We must now pass on to more rapidly shifting, and more stormy, scenes. The era of dotage had possibly lasted long enough; and Divine Providence was now about to permit one of those revolutions, which however disastrous at the time, and committed not unfrequently to the vilest instruments, who in the end bring on their own destruction, do yet settle down by degrees into new and better times. We have seen that even a spurious form of Christianity could not set its foot on the soil under heathen princes without disguise, nor without suffering persecution. At length it is hoped, after a long and very gradual transition, the dawning light of uncorrupted Christianity has beamed on that once utterly benighted land. *Crescat in sempiternum.*

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPT, Sec. 10.—CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 12, 13.

In illustrating the commencement of those events which gradually led to the entire subversion of the northern dynasty of kings at Madura, we shall recur in the first instance to the Telugu manuscript already largely quoted.

THE MAHOMEDAN INTERVENTION.

After the decease of *Raja-Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker*, as he left no child, *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, who had been the second in power, was the suitable person to succeed to the crown. His son, named *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, was adopted and installed, by being anointed when four years old by *Minatchi-Ammal*, the crowned queen of *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker*. She also

discharged the customary funeral rites for the deceased king; and managed the affairs of government. While doing so, the *Subah* of Arcot, named *Sabutalli-Kan* (Subder-ali Khan), came to Trichinopoly; and, having left orders to bring thirty lacs of rupees, he returned to Arcot. Afterwards, *Minatchi-Ammal* being a woman and the prince only a child, *Chunda Saheb* managed so as to frighten them, and bidding them bring a crore of rupees, (one hundred lacs, or upwards of one million sterling,) he took this sum from them; and then swore on the Koran, "I will not for the future use any treachery towards you." After receiving the money, he came into the fort; and, on its being discovered that he was devising the means of acting treacherously, *Minatchi*, the queen, sent *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, and the installed prince, to Madura; while *Minatchi* herself remained at Trichinopoly. As soon as *Chunda Saheb* received intelligence that *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* and the crowned prince had departed outside, he knew that his meditated design could not now succeed; and, as the prince was a child, and *Minatchi-Ammal* a woman, he said, "I will certainly cause the kingdom to be made over to you, without any competition; and that by the aid of some foreign king, or other available persons:" thereupon taking with him two thousand cavalry, and some other troops, he left and went to Arcot. Subsequently *Minatchi-Ammal* appointed *Kalinithi-Govinda-paiyer* her manager for collecting revenue; and she retained for her own expenses and charities the sums accruing from both banks of the Cauvery connected with Trichinopoly, and from *Caruvur* (Caroor) as far as *Tarapuram* (Dharoor); while, by the consent of *Minatchi-Ammal*, Madura Tinnevelly, Dindigul, and other provinces, with the *Palliyams* attached to them, as also Ramnad, *Sivagangai*, and the other Zemindaries, were under the controul of *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, and of *Mutthu-Vengaiyer*, appointed by him to the united offices of *Dalakarten* and *Piratani*. The *Maha-raja*, the crowned prince, *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, being but a youth, was retained at Madura; and *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* superintended all the government affairs. In this way both persons ruled the kingdom from *Virothikirathu* year down to *Racshasa* year (being five years).

BATTLE OF *AMMAIYA PALLIYAM.*

Such was the state of affairs, when *Chunda Saheb* again came to Trichinopoly, and conducting himself treacherously, he placed guards of his own people all around the palace of *Minatchi-Ammal*, and considered the fort to belong to him; while he appointed his own men to manage the affairs of the Trichinopoly country. He subsequently set out with the intention of going against *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, at Madura; and, having assembled a great force, he beat the troops which were stationed in the Dindigul district, and took possession of that province; and then, proceeding to fight against Madura, he had approached near to *Ammaiya palliam*, when *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* ordered his *Dalavayi*, *Mutthu-Vengaiyer*, and *Vengada-Kistnapa-Naicker*, the son of *Minatchi-Naicker*, accompanied by two thousand cavalry, as also by *Appa-Naicker*, *Bodi-Naicker*, *Yersenika-Naicker*, *Yerzumadei-Naicker*, and other *Palliya-carers*, to go and fight with *Chunda Saheb's* army. Accordingly, when *Mutthu-Vengaiyer* and *Vengada-Kistnapa-Naicker* had assaulted, and fought for some time with, the enemy's army, the forces of both of them became much weakened, and *Vengada-Kistnapa-Naicker* fell, covered with eighteen wounds. The *Dalavayi*, *Mutthu-Vengaiyer*, being seated in a howdah, took his bow in hand, and discharged arrows on the foes all around, scattering thirty bands, and allowing no one to approach near him; and, by means of the driver causing the howdah-bearing elephant to turn on every side like a whirlwind, he slew a great many soldiers, and wounded many more. At the same time the enemy, by means of arrows and musket-bullets, pierced the body of *Mutthu-Vengaiyer* like a sieve, covering it with wounds. He nevertheless relaxed not, but fought courageously, like *Abimanyan* when battling with the forces of *Duryodhen*, as narrated in the *Baratham*. He did not even pause to draw out the arrows that had struck him, until his own stock of arrows being expended, he drew out those which were in his body, and discharging these on the foes, slew several of them. But at length *Mutthu-Vengaiyer*, from the number of his wounds, became exhausted, and expired. His troops also were cut in pieces; yet a few of them, although wounded, took up the body of *Vengada-Kistnapa-Naicker* and brought it to Madura.

Soon afterwards *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, having heard that *Chunda-Saheb* was advancing towards Madura, and being himself totally destitute of forces to resist him, quitted Madura; taking with him the young prince and the royal appurtenances, and went to *Siva-gangai*. On his approach towards this place *Sasivan-deven* and the *Sethupathi*, *Katta-deven*, came forth to meet him, bringing golden and silver flowers, which they scattered at his feet; and, doing him homage, escorted him, giving up to him afterwards as many villages as were needful, and supplying him with all desired expenses, and every thing else without deficiency.

Meantime *Chunda-Saheb* captured Madura, and secured the whole country to himself. *Minatchi-Ammal*, at Trichinopoly, having received intelligence of all these things, observed, "*Chunda-Saheb*, after having sworn that he would not act treacherously, and receiving from me a crore of rupees, nevertheless has, traitor-like, conquered the kingdom for himself. The next thing which he will do is to kill me. Better to die by my own hand than by his." In consequence of this conclusion she swallowed poison, and obtained (says the manuscript) divine bliss.

In comparing the preceding translated extract with the sections referred to of the Carnataca Dynasty, the reader will probably perceive, that the latter is much the more perspicuous of the two as to the cause of the intervention of the Mahomedans. As *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker* died childless, public affairs certainly were left in a dilemma, by there being no regular heir to the throne. He ought to have foreseen this contingency, and to have provided against it, by adopting his nephew as his successor, and naming a regent, either in the person of his queen *Minatchi-Ammal*, or of his brother *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, whereby disputes would have been avoided, and an appeal to foreign interference rendered quite unnecessary. There is, however, sometimes a sort of judicial infatuation resting on individuals, whereby they perceive not their clearest line of duty; and we are taught by the result in this case, that the sand in the hour-glass of the northern dynasty was run out. Even after the king's death, childless, the succession was sufficiently clear for the younger brother had before succeeded to the throne, on the demise of the elder brother without offspring. The case of the illustrious *Tirumali-Naicker* himself was an adequate precedent. Hence much blame seems to have rested with the dowager queen *Minatchi-Ammal*, who probably was urged on by her brother *Vencata-Permal-Naicker*; being also herself perhaps ambitious of imitating the conduct and participating in the fame of *Mangamal*,* though under clearly different circumstances. The award, as it is

recorded, of *Sabdar-ali-Khan* was therefore perfectly correct and judicious; if not entirely disinterested. But it was wrong to give the Mahomedans any acquaintance with the internal affairs of the state. Nevertheless the queen and her brother persisted, as we have seen, until they had utterly ruined the kingdom. Of the two or three manuscript authorities adduced, the Carnataca Dynasty is also the most clear and intelligible as to the nature of the proceeding whereby the queen and her brother entirely committed themselves to the intrigue and treachery of *Chunda-Saheb.*

We are now come down to the period where Mr. Orme's history of the Carnatic commences; at least in its reference to aboriginal native powers. It may be well perhaps to enable the reader at one view to compare his statement of this revolution with the accounts of the native historians.

"The Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships dependant on the Soubah of "the Decan: from its capital it is likewise named the province of Arcot; but its present "limits are greatly inferior to those which bounded the ancient Carnatic before it was "conquered by the Great Mogul; for we do not find that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever "extended their authority beyond the river Gondegama to the north, the great chain of "mountains to the west, and the borders of the kingdoms of Tritchanopoly, Tanjore, and "Mysore to the south. The sea bounds it to the east. It was not before the beginning of "the present century that this country was entirely reduced by the Moors.

"Sadatulla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, having no issue, "adopted the two sons of his brother; appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed in the "Nabobship; and conferring on the younger, Boker-ally, the government of Velore; he like-"wise directed that Gulam Hassain, the nephew of his favorite wife, should be Duan or "prime minister to his successor. Having reigned from the year 1710 to 1732, he died much "regretted by his subjects.

"The dispositions he had made were fulfilled without opposition or difficulty; but Nizam-"al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, beheld the accession of Doast-ally with "aversion, since it took effect without that deference to his authority which he was deter-"mined to establish throughout all the governments under his jurisdiction. The jealousy of "this powerful superior prevented Doast-ally from procuring a regular confirmation from "Delhi: it is said that he only obtained some letters of approbation from the vizir, without "the proper forms of an authentic commission.

"Doast-ally had two sons, of whom the eldest, Subder-ally, was arrived at man's estate "when his father succeeded to the Nabobship: he had likewise several daughters, one of "whom he had at that time given in marriage to his nephew Mortiz-ally, son of Boker-ally; "and another to a more distant relation named Chunda-Saheb. This lord gave his own "daughter by a former wife in marriage to Gulam Hassein, and availing himself of the "incapacity of his son-in-law, obtained the Nabob's permission to administer the office of "Duan in his stead.

"The kingdoms of Tritchanopoly and Tanjore, although tributary to the Great Mogul, "were each of them governed by its own prince or Raja, and the care of levying the tributes

"of these countries was intrusted to the Nabobs of Arcot, who were sometimes obliged to "send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of Tritchanopoly "in 1736, was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, "which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nabob of Arcot hopes "of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under "the command of his son Subder-ally and the Duan Chunda-Saheb to seize any opportunity "which might offer of getting possession of the city of Tritchanopoly; but to prevent "suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, "and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea-coast, before they proceeded "to the south: accordingly they came to Madras, where they remained some days, and then "went to Pondicherry, where they staid a longer time; during which, Chunda-Saheb laid "the first foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city: from hence "they marched to Tritchanopoly.

"By intrigues, of which we have not the details, Chunda-Saheb prevailed on the queen to "admit him with a body of troops into the city, having first taken an oath on the Koran, "that he would act in nothing to her detriment: the people of the country say that she fell "in love with him; if so, she was ill requited, for he soon after seduced the garrison, seized "the city, and confined her to a prison, where she died of grief. The submission of the rest "of the kingdom soon followed that of the capital; after which, Subder-ally leaving Chunda-"Saheb to govern these new acquisitions, returned to his father at Arcot, who appointed "Meerassud, the preceptor of Subder-ally, to succeed Chunda-Saheb in the office* of Duan."

The reader will be readily able to mark the agreements and the differences in these accounts. As regards the oath of *Chunda-Saheb* on the Koran, wherein they both agree, Colonel Wilkes† informs us, that the so-called Koran was nothing more than a brick, covered over with gold cloth, in the Mahomedan fashion; so as externally to resemble that book: clearly proving, if true, that what followed was the result of premeditated design, and not suggested afterwards, and by degrees by reason of fortuitous and unforeseen circumstances. That *Minatchi-Ammal* poisoned herself is stated by the Telugu Manuscript alone: yet the nature of the case makes the occurrence very probable.

The victory at *Ammaiya-palliyam*, and rapid acquisition of the Madura country by *Chunda-Saheb* were greatly facilitated to him by the previous incursions of the Mysore armies. Colonel Wilkes informs us that Trichinopoly was besieged by the Mysore army, Chick-deo-raj, then being king of Mysore; but that the siege was razed by reason of the Mahrattas having attacked the capital of Mysore. This siege of Trichinopoly must have been during the reign of *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker;* but no mention of it occurs in our manuscripts. It is however certain that the two states of Madura and Mysore were mutually hostile, from the reign of the famous *Tirumala-Naicker* down to the extinction of the Madura government. Colonel Wilkes places the death of the king of Trichinopoly, meaning *Viji-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker*, in 1732, in which he agrees with

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* Hist. of Mil. trans. Vol. 1, B. 1, p. 37—39. † South of India, Vol. 1, note, p. 250.

the Carnataca Dynasty. Mr. Orme is five years later; but it is probable that his date includes the five years of doubtful disputation between the two competitors for the sovereign power. During this five years, and perhaps for some time lower down, some account of the proceedings of the Mysore power is preserved in the Memoir of the house of *Appiya-Naicker* of *Cannivadi*, from which extracts have been before given, and another one is now added. It shows that the fine province of Dindigul had fallen into the hands of the Mysore king, after some resistance, specially from this Poligar; and is further remarkable as bringing Hyder-ali on the scene, at an early period of his career, acting even then in perfect conformity to the Mahomedan character for war, deceit, and treachery; and yielding his master an indication of future character and conduct, which he might have read to advantage, had not his eyes been sealed, both to the moral of this lesson, and also to that afforded by *Rustam-Khan* at Trichinopoly, with the history of which affair the Mysore king could not well have been unacquainted.

MEMOIR OF *NARSASINGA-NAICKER*, AND THE MYSORE SUBJUGATION OF THE DINDIGUL PROVINCE.

Chinna-Kattira-Naicker left two sons, who were named *Narasinga-Naicker* and *Bettana-Naicker*. After the decease of *Chinna-Kattira-Naicker*, his eldest son, *Narasinga-Naicker*, succeeded him in the principality. At that time the reigning prince at the Madura capital was *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, who summoned the seventy-two *Palliya-Carers*, including the specially adopted *Narasinga-Appaiya-Naicker;* and, sanctioning the tenures of their respective lands as heretofore customary, said, "Whenever the people of the palace may summon you, you will come and render the service which may be prescribed to you, meantime live in health;" and, adding presents, he dismissed them. Some time after they had retired to their respective towns, as the Mysoreans had overrun the whole country, the *Dalavayi*, *Mutthu-Svami*, and *Govindaiyar*,* the son of *Samapaiyer*, came; and, halting at *Caruvattu-potal*, they called *Narasinga-Naicker* of *Cannivadi* and said to him, "Is it not because the capital is taken that the Mysoreans have come and conquered the country? But now, forasmuch as *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-*

* Manager of *Minatchi-Ammal*.

Naicker is come to the crown, as our master, he has given to us the offices of *Dalak-arten* and *Piratani*, and directed us to go and fight against the Mysore capital; and also to reduce the country to proper order. As you are the chief of the eighteen Dindigul Poligars, and an adopted child of the state, and as it is now needful to go and fight against the Mysoreans, both you and your people must accompany us." He replied, "Let it be even as you say."

About the same time the Mysoreans came from the capital, with twelve thousand cavalry, and twenty thousand *Carnataca* people, and encamped in the Dindigul province. Thereupon the *Dalavayi Mutthu-Samaiyen* said to *Narasinga-Naicker*, "Since the enemy's army is come into Dindigul, do you go and see all made secure in your own town, and then carefully guard the roads so as to prevent the Dindigul army from passing on this side." *Ramanaiyer* having received intelligence that he was come to his town, remarked, "This *Narasinga-Naicker* is one combined with the (Madura) lord's general *Mutthu-Svami*, is it not so?" and then moved his army from Dindigul, and encamped against *Cannivadi*. Having done so, he sent a challenge to *Narasinga-Naicker*, calling on him to come out and fight. The latter took care to secure the encampments and forts; and then, after some fighting, the army of Ravanaiyen was worsted and driven away. It retreated to *Mangkarei;* and having there rallied and re-assembled the troops, (the commander) sent a message to *Narasinga-Naicker*, to this purport—"If you are willing to send one of your people, we will speak (and settle matters) with him; but unless you do so, we shall return again and fight with you." *Narasinga-Naicker* thereupon, reflecting on the best mode of proceeding, and what was befitting the time, sent confidential men of business, who discussed with *Ramanaiyer* all needful matters, and then returned. Ravanaiyer then withdrew his troops, and proceeded with them to Dindigul.

They then directed their army against *Mutthu-Svami-Ayyer*, and encamped in *Karuvattu-Pottal;* when, after much fighting between *Mutthu-Svami-Ayyer* and *Ramanaiyer*, the latter conquered *Mutthu-Svami-Ayyer*, and destroyed his army, and then returned to Dindigul. Soon afterwards *Ramanaiyer* put his troops in motion, and again proceeding to *Cannivadi*, fought against *Narasinga-Naicker*. But

—— அப்படியிருக்கிறநாளையிலஆண்பிள்ளைகளஇரணடுபேர்பிள்ளைகளநர்சிஙக
நாயக்கரொனறும்பெததணநாயக்கரொனறும்பிறநதிருக்கிறார்கள். நர்சிஙகநாயக்கர்மூ
த்தவரானதினாலேசின்னக்கதிரா நாயக்கர்தெய்வீகமாய்ப்போனபிறகுநர்சிஙகநாயக்
கர் துரைததனஞ்செய்து கொணடிருந்தாரப்போது மதுரைசமததானததிலவிசையகு
மாரமுதது திருமலைநாயக்கரவர்கள பட்டஙகட்டிக்கொணடு எழுபததிரணடுபாளையக்
காரரையும்வரவழைதது முக்கியகுமாரவர்க்கமாகிய நர்சிஙகஅப்பையநாயக்கரையும்வ
ரவழைத்துஎப்போதும்போலவேஅவரவர்சீமையும் வைததுக்கொணடுஅரண்மனையா
ர்அழைததபோது வநது உததிரவுசெய்த பிரகாரஞ் சேவகமுஞ்செய்து கொணடுசுக
மேஇருஙகளெனறுசொலலிஉடுகரையம்குடுதது அனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள். இவர்களும்ஊ
ர்வநதுசேர்நதுஇருக்கிறநாளையில மைசூரார்சீமையைமுழுதுங கட்டிக்கொணடிருந
ததினாலேதளவாய்முததுசுவாமிஅய்யரும்சாமபய்யர் குமாரகோவிநதய்யரும்கருவா
ட்டுப்பொட்டலிலவ நதிறஙகிக்கொணடுகனனிவாடி நர்சிஙகநாயக்கரை வரவழைதது்ச
மததானம்எடுபட்டுபோனதினாலேயலலோமைசூரார்வநது சீமையைக்கட்டிக்கொண
டார்களிப்போதுசமததானத்துக்குஆனியனுகவிசையகுமாரமுததுதிருமலை நாயக்கர
வர்களபட்டததுக்குவநதிருக்கிறதினாலேநாம்மைசூர்சமததானததினபேரிலப்போய்
ச்சணடைசெய்துசீமையைச்சுவச்ப்படுததிக்கொணடுவரச்சொலலிநமக்குத்தளகர்தத
பிரதானிக்கமுஙகொடுதது அனுப்பிவிச்சிருக்கிறார்கள். திணடுக்கலபதினெட்டு பாளைய
ப்பட்டுக்கும்நீபெரியபாளையப்பட்டானதினாலேயும் சமததானததுக்குக்குமாரவர்க்
கமானதினாலேயும் இப்போதுமைசூரார்பேரிலசணடைக்குப்போக வேணடியிருக்கி
றபடியினாலே நீயும்உனசனமும்கூடவே வரவேணுமெனறுசொனனார்கள். அதேபிர
காரமாகட்டுமெனறிருநதார்கள். அப்படியிருக்கிற போதுமைசூர்சமததானததிலிரு
நதுபனனீராயிரக்குதிரையும்இருபதினாயிரங்கர்னாடக சனமும்திணடுகலலிலேவநதிறங
கினார்கள். அப்போதுதளவாய்முததுசாமய்யனநர்சிஙகுநாயக்கரைப்பார்ததுத்திண
டுகலலிலபாளையம்வநதிருக்கிறதினாலேநீபோய் உன னூரிலச்சகலததையுஙகட்டுப்பததி
ரமாய்வைததுப்போட்டுத்திணடுக்கலப்பாளையம் இப்புறப்படுவராமலவழி பாதையி
ல்சாகிரதையாகஇருக்கச்சொலலிப்பநதோபஸ்துசெய்துகொளளச்சொலலி அனுப்பி
விச்சார்கள். இவர்ஊர்வநதுசேர்நதசமாச்சாரம்ர்மணய்யர்கேட்டுநர்சிஙகநாயக்கர்கர்
ததாக்களவர்களமுததுசுவாமிஅயயர்கூடச்சேர்நதவரலலவாவெனறு திணடுக்கல்லிலவ
நதிறஙகியிருநத பாளையஙகனனிவாடியின் பேரிலவநதிறஙகினார்கள். கனனிவாடியின்

Narasinga-Naicker resisted him, defeated and drove away his forces, and cut off the head of his brother-in-law; and then returned to his own town: while *Ramanaiyer*, collecting the remnants of his troops, proceeded to Dindigul. Subsequently *Ramanaiyer*, being indignant on account of his brother-in-law having been killed, collected some people, and while on the point of setting out to give a challenge for battle, *Narasinga-Naicker* reflected on the matter, and thought it expedient to send an offering or satisfaction in place of the head that had been cut off: which offering was sent by his people; and the requisite precautions being taken, he thereby pacified his adversary.

About the same time *Sullerumbu-Sottala-Naicker* came to *Narasinga-Naicker*, and spoke to him as follows: "As you are the heir (or administrator) of my chieftainship, my child, and the possessor of this land, and as I am now in the evening of my days, take to yourself at once the possession of my domain." When subsequently he was deified (died) *Narasinga-Naicker*, being his child, discharged the needful good and evil matters (that is, funeral rites), and added that village to his own possessions.

Nearly at the same period *Pariku-Vengata-Rayer*, one among the Mysoreans, came to Dindigul; and, while adjusting the affairs of that province, he summoned all the *Palliya-Carers* to meet him, and said to them, "There are now five or six years of tribute in arrears not paid by you; and in consequence let each one of you now settle your accounts." They replied, "We have been only accustomed to render military service to the (Madura) lords; and not to pay tribute." But as (the deputy) insisted on the payment, *Narasinga-Naicker* was acquitted for the sum of five thousand gold *chakrams*, and received permission to depart. At the same time *Pariku-Vengata-Rayer* wrote to the Mysore capital, that all the *Palliya-Carers* would neither pay tribute nor listen to what was said to them, and gave a great deal of trouble. Thereupon the Mysoreans sent to Dindigul six thousand cavalry, and twelve thousand *Carnataca* people; and gave the command of this force to *Arani-Vengata-paiyen*. Thereupon *Arani-Vengata-paiyen* thought within himself, "As *Cannivadi* is the largest of all the *palliyams* connected with Dindigul, if we overcome that chief, all the others will do as we bid them, and will pay in the arrears of tribute:" in consequence he put his army in motion, and encamped against *Canni-*

பேரில வநதிறஙகிநர்சிஙகநாயக்கரைச் சணடைக்குவரச் சொலலிச் சொனனார்கள அப்
போது பாடிவீடுகளகோடடைகளெலலாம பததிரப்படுததிக்கொணடு அநேகருஞசண
டைசெய்ததிலரவணய்யர்பாளையஞசணடைசெயகிறததறகு நிர்வாகமிலலாமல எடுபடடு
ப்போய்மாஙகளையில இறஙகிக்கொணடு அப்பாலதிருமபவுஞ சேகரிததுக்கொணடுநர்
சிஙகநாயக்கருக்குஅவர்களசொலலிஅனுப்பிவிச்சது. உனமனுஷனை அனுப்பிவிச்சால
கணடுபேசிக்கொணடுபோகிறேமெனறும்இலலாதவளையிலதிருமபவும்உனபேரிலச
ணடை செய்வோமெனறுஞ்சொலலிஅனுப்பிவிச்சதில நர்சிஙநாயக்கர் யோசிததுச்ச
மையததுக்குததக்கதாய்அப்போது காரியக்காரரைஅனுப்பிவிச்சுரமணய்யரிடததிற்
பேச்வேணடியசமாசாரமெலலாம்பேசிவிச்சுக்கொணடு அனுப்பிவிச்சுக்கொணடுவந
துவிடடார்களஅப்போது ரவணயயரும் பாளையமும் பினவாஙகித்திணடுக்கலலுக்குப்
போய்ச்சேர்நதார்கள் அப்பாலமுததுசுவாமி அயயர்பேரில பாளையம் கறுவாடடுப்
பொடடவிலபோயிறஙகினார்கள. இறஙகிமுததுசுவாமிஅயயருக்கும்ரமணயயருக்கும்
அநேகயுததஙகளானதில்முதது சுவாமிஅயயனையும்அவர்தளததையும்அடிததுஅதம்
பணணிப்போடடுரமணயயர்திணடுக்கலவநதுசேர்நதார்கள. அப்பாலதிருமபவும்க
னனிவாடியிலநர்சிஙகநாயக்கர்பேரிலரமணயயர்பாளையம் எடுததுவநதுசணடைசெய
தாரப்போதுநர்சிஙகநாயக்கரும்யெதிர்ததுச்சணடைசெயதுரமணயயர்பாளையததை
யும்எடுபடுததிஅவர்மச்சினனையுநதலையைவெடடிக்கொணடுஊர்வநதுசேர்நதார்கள.
ரமணயயர்இருக்கிறசனததையுஞசேகரிததுக்கொணடுதிணடுக்கல போய்ச்சேர்நதார்
கள. அப்பாலரமணயயர்தன் மச்சினனை வெடடிப்போடடார்களெனறு ரோசததுட
னேசிறுதுசனஙகளையுஞசேகரப்படுததிக்கொணடுசணடைக்குவரவேணுமெனறுஎத
தினஞசெயததில்ப்போதுநர்சிஙகநாயக்கர்யோசனைசெயதுதலை வெடடுகாணிக்கைக்
கு ***** தொடுததுமனுஷாளையனுப்பிவிச்சு அதறகுத்தகுநத பநதோபஸ்துசெய்
துசமுதாயிச்சுப்போடடார்கள. அப்படிக்கிருக்கிற நாளையில சுளளெறும்புசொதத
ளநாயக்கர்வநதுநர்சிஙகநாயக்கரிடததிலசொனனசமாச்சாரமெனனவெனறால்நீஎன
க்குப்படடததுக்குப்பாததியனானதனாலேயும் நீ எனக்குப்பிளளையானதினாலேயும்இ
நதப்பூமிக்குஉடையவனானதினாலேயும்எனக்குஅநதியகாலமானதினாலேயும்பூமியை
நீசேர்ததுக்கோவெனறுசொலலியிருநதார். அப்பாலஅவர்தெய்வீகமாயப்போனஉ
டனேஅவருக்குநர்சிஙகநாயக்கர்பிளளையாயிருநதுசெயயவேணடியநனமைதினமை
களும்நடப்பிவிச்சுப்போடடுஅநதக்கிராமமுஞசேர்ததுக்கொணடார். அப்படியிரு

vadi. Having done so, *Arani-Vengata-paiyen* sent a message to *Narasinga-Naicker* to this effect, "Will you pay up the arrears of your *palliyam*, or will you come out and fight: which do you choose?" *Narasinga-Naicker* replied, "I am not able to pay the money: for the rest, be it as you please." *Arani-Vengata-paiyer* forthwith commenced hostile operations, while *Narasinga-Naicker* met and fought with him; and, making great havoc in *Arani-Vengata-paiyen's* army, he routed them, and drove them before him, until they took refuge in (the fort of) Dindigul. *Arani-Vengata-paiyen* hereupon reflected, "If one Poligar has done all this, unless he be overcome, what success can we expect any where?" and, being in Dindigul, he wrote to this effect to Mysore. Having done so, he succeeded in reducing to subjection all the other chiefs of the Dindigul *Palliyams*, the *Palliya-Carer* of *Cannivadi* only being excepted.

The Mysoreans now assembled some infantry and cavalry, and giving the command to *Ayitalu-Naicken* (Hyder-ali-Naick), confided to him this charge—"The chiefs attached to Dindigul refuse to pay their tribute, and cause much trouble; do you therefore go and chastise them, conducting yourself according to the orders which you may receive; and, causing them to pay up arrears, see the country well settled, and then return." In consequence Hyder-ali-Naick came hostilely against *Cannivadi.* Having done so, he fought against *Narasinga-Naicker;* and, after a long contest, the latter became weakened and unable any longer to resist; and therefore took refuge in (the fort of) *Varaha-giri.* Hyder-ali-Naick encamped against *Cannivadi,* and sent some of his own people to *Narasinga-Naicken,* with a message to this effect—"You are a brave and skilful man. I wish not to destroy you: settle the arrears, and pay up the tribute, that it may be transmitted to the palace; and then be at ease in your own town." He made him many promises; and, calling for him, spoke to him in a way calculated to give pleasure; and having settled the rate of tribute at seven thousand gold (*chakrams*), he made him honorary presents; and said, "Continue always to pay at this rate, act according to orders which may come from the people of the palace, and prosper." He then retired to Dindigul. While the rate of tribute, so adjusted, was being regularly paid, *Arani-Vengata-paiyen* called *Narasinga-Naicker* to an interview, who accordingly went, and after an interview, took up

க்கிறநாளையிலமைசூரார்க்குளளாக பறிக்குவெஙகடடராயர்திணடிக்கல சீர்மைசுவசஞு
செயதுகொணடுஇருக்கிறபோதுபாளையக்காரரை யெலலாம்பேடடிக்குவர்வழைததது
அஞுசாறுவருஷமாகவகையறுப்புகொடுக்காமலிருக்கிறீர்களஇப்போது ம்வர்வர்வகை
யறுப்புதீததுக்கொணடுபோஙகளெனறுசொனனதில கர்ததாக்களுடைய உததிரவுப
டிக்குநாஙகளசேவகஞுசெயது கொணடிருநதோம்லலாதுவகையறுப்புகொடுததுவந
ததிலலையென்றுசொனனுர்கள. அப்படிக்குததீராதெனறு நர்சிஙகப்பநாயக்கரிடததி
லஅயயர்யிரம்பொனசக்கிரம்வாஙகிக்கொணடு அனுப்பிவிடடார்கள. அப்படியிருக்கி
றநாளையிலபறிக்குவெஙகடராயர்மைசூர்சமததானததுக்குப்பாளையப்படடாரொலலா
ம்வகையறுப்புகொடுக்கிறதுமிலலைசொனனபடி கேட்கிறதுமிலலாமல அநேகஞ்சலவி
யஙகிள செய்கிருர்களெனறுஎழுதியனுப்பிவிச்சார். அப்போதுமைசூரார்ஆராயிரங்கு
திரையும்பனனீராயிரம்கர்ஞடகசனமுஙகொடுதது ஆர்ணிவெஙகிடடப்பயயனைஅநதத
ணடுக்குமுகாமியாக நேமிததுத்திணடுக்கலுக்கு அனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள. அப்போதுதி
ணடுக்கலுக்குச்சேர்நத பாளையப்படடுகளுக்கெலலாஙகனனிவாடி பெரியபாளையப்
படடானதிஞலே இவனைஒடிக்கிஞல்எலலாருஞுசொனனபடிக்கேடடுநமதுஉததிரவுப
டிக்குநடநதுகொணடுஉணடாகியவகையறுப்புப்பணமுஙகொடுப்பார்களெனறுயோ
சிததுஆறணிவெஙகிடடப்பய்யனும் பாளையமுஙகனனிவாடியினபேரிலவநதிறஙகிஞர்
களஅப்போதுநர்சிஙகநாயக்கருக்குஆறணிவெஙகிடடப்பய்யர்சொலலிஅனுப்பிவிச்ச
து. உனபாளையப்படடுக்குவகையறுப்புபணணித்தீர்ததுக்கோள்கிருயோ இலலாதவ
ரையில்எதிராளியாய்ச் சணடைக்குவருகிருயோ வெனறுகேடடார்கள அப்போதுநர்
சிஙக நாயக்கர்சொனனது பணஙகொடுக்க நிர்வாகமிலலையெனறு சொலலியப்பால்உ
ஙகளுக்கு சம்மதியானபடியெனறு சொலலி அனுப்பிவிச்சதிலஅப்பால ஆர்ணிவெஙகி
டடப்பய்யருஞுசணடைக்கு வநதுசணடை செய்தார் நர்சிஙக நாயக்கரும் யெதிர்தது
ரொம்பவுஞுசணடைசெய்து ஆாணிவெஙகிடடப்பய்யர் பாளையததிலரொம்பவுஞுசன
ச்சேதஞுசெய்துபாளையததையெடுப்படுததிததிணடுக்கலவனாக்குமுடுக்கிப்போடடுவ
நதுவிடடார்கள.அப்படிஇருக்கிறபோதுஆாணிவெஙகிடடப்பய்யனதிணடுக்கலிலே
போயிருநது கொணடு ஒரு பாளையக்காரனிவவளவு செயதுபோடடாஞுனதாலிவனை
யெடுபுடுததாமலிருநதால நமக்கெனனகாரியஙகடடிவருமெனறு மைசூராருக்குஎழு
திஅனுப்பிவிச்சுப் போடடுஅப்பாலதிணடுக்கலசீர்மைபாளையப்படடில கனனிவாடித
விர்மறறப்பாளையக்காரரையெலலாஞுசுவசப்படுததிக்கொணடுஇருநதானஅப்படியிரு

his residence for the time being in the *Dalavayi Samapaiyen's* choultry. While there Hyder-ali-Naicken came, and treacherously seizing him, confined him in the Dindigul rock, and after some time carried him as a prisoner to Seringapatam. The period of his chieftainship was sixty-years.

PANDION CHRONICLE, CHAP. V. SEC. 5.—CARNATACA DYNASTY, SEC. 14.

In further elucidation of the matters here referred to, we continue the translation of the Telugu Manuscript.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE MAHRATTAS AND OF THE NIZAM-UL-MULK.

Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker having received intelligence of the death of *Minatchi-Ammal*, wrote a letter to *Sahji-rayer*, and sent it to Poona: he also caused the needful funeral rites of the deceased queen to be performed. Soon afterwards *Batte-Singu-Ragoji-Bosala* came, with sixty thousand cavalry, and sitting down before Trichinopoly, blockaded it by a close siege. Chunda-Saheb was in Trichinopoly. His younger brother, Bade-Saheb, who was at Madura, having heard of the arrival of the Mahratta army, quitted Madura, with all the troops, and came to *Vettu-Vatthur*, near to Trichinopoly. The Mahrattas perceiving his approach, made ready their army; and engaging with Bade-Saheb's troops, cut off his head, threw it away, and destroyed the whole of his force. They then captured the fort of Trichinopoly; and taking Chunda-Saheb by the hand, and putting on him fetters, saying, "Ah, culprit!" threw him into prison. *Santho-Singu-Ragoji-Bosala* wrote a letter to the *Carnataca* governor *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, who was then at *Sivagangai*, inviting him to come. In consequence, *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, taking with him the crowned prince *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, proceeded to Trichinopoly. He there had an interview with *Batte-Singu-Ragoji-*

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL LIBRARY

க்கிறபோதுமைசூரார்சிறுதுவாறுங்குதிரையுங்கொடுததுஅயிதலுநாயக்கனைஅதற்கு
முகாமியாய நேமிததுநீபோய்த்திணடுக்கலலுக்குச்சொநதபாளையக்காரரெலலாம்வ
கையறுப்புகள கொடுக்காமலரொம்பவுஞசலவியஙகள செய்துகொணடிருக்கிருர்களா
ம்வர்களையெலலாம்டக்கிஉததிராவுபடிக்குநடக்கும்படிக்குசசெய்துநீஅவர்களுக்கெல
லாம்வகையறுப்புந்தீர்ததுபந்துபஸ்துசெய்துபோடடுவாவெனறுஉததிராவுசெய்தனு
ப்பிவிசசார்கள. அப்பாலஅயிதலுநாயக்கனும்பாளையமும்கனனிவாடியினபேரிலேவ
ந்திறஙகிஞர்கள. வந்திறஙகிநர்சிஙகமநாயக்கர்பேரில்ரொம்பவுஞசணடைசெயததில
நர்சிஙகமநாயக்கருஞசணடைசெயகிறதறகுநிர்வாகமிலலாமலவராக்கிரிமலைக்குப்போ
பவிடடார்கள. அப்போதுஅயிதலுநாயக்கனகனனிவாடியிலேவந்திறஙகிக்கொணடுநர்
சிஙகமநாயக்கருக்குதனமனுஷிரிடததிலசொலலிஅனுப்பிவிசசது. நீகெடடிக்காரனஉ
னனைநானகெடுததுப்போடுகிறதிலலைவகையறுப்புதீர்ததுக்கொணடு உணடாகியபண
மும்ஆமனைக்குக்கொடுததுக்கொணடுஉனனூரிலசுகமே இருவெனறு அனேகம்பர்வ
சங்களாய்ச்சொலலிஅனுப்பிவிச்சுவர்வழைத்துச்சலலாபமாய்ப்பேசிக்கொணடுயேழா
பிரம் பொனவகையறுப்புதீர்ததுஉடுகளையுஙகொடுதது எனறெனறைக்குமிந்தவகைய்
றுப்புப்படிக்குப்பணஙகொடுததுக்கொணடுஆண்மனையார்உததிராவுபடிக்குநடந்து
கொணடுசுகமேஇருவெனறுசசொலலிப்போடடுதிணடுக்கலலுக்குப்போயிவிடடான்.
அந்தப்பிரகாரம்உணடாகியவகைய்றுப்புப்பணஙகுடுததுக்கொணடுவருகிறநாளையில
ஆறணிவெஙகிடடப்பயயனெனகிறவர்பேடடிக்கு வரசசொலலிச்சொலலிஅனுப்பிவிச
சார்அதெப்பிரகாறம்நாரசிஙகமநாயக்கருந் திணடுக்கலலுக்குப்பேடடிக்குப்போய்க்
கணடுபேசிக் கொணடுதளவாய் சாமபயயனசததிராததில வந்திறஙகியிருக்கிற போதுஅ
யிதலு நாயக்கன வநது அவகடமாய்க்கவுததவவஞசெய்துபிடிததுக்கொணடுபோயத
திணடிக்கலமலையித் போடடிருநது சிறுதுநாளை க்குப்பிறகுசீரஙகப் படடணததுக்கு
க்கொணடுபோயவிடடான. அவர்படடம்-௵சுய.

Bosala, who behaved towards him with the utmost courtesy, saying, "We have come and taken all this trouble, in order to rescue your kingdom and restore it to you; for the future we shall conduct ourselves conformably to your will: you must pay us thirty lacs of rupees, as the expenses of our army; and besides this, according to established custom, you must statedly give a yearly allowance of three lacs of rupees." *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* replied, "As all our ready-money and jewels were taken possession of by Chunda-Saheb, we will engage to pay thirty lacs of rupees within three years, by annual instalments of ten lacs each." To this (the Mahratta chief) agreed; and, desiring a written engagement, signed by *Vijia-Cumara-Tirumali-Naicker*, this was given to him; whereupon *Batte-singu-Ragoji-Bosala* left it in charge to *Murari-ravu* and *Iruthaiya-Ram* to see *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Tirumali-Naicker* reinstated; to subdue the as yet unconquered portion of the country; and to receive and remit the regulated yearly instalments: after having given this commission, he took Chunda-Saheb with him, as a prisoner; and, returning to Poona, put Chunda-Saheb in fetters at Sattara.

Subsequently *Murari-ravu* inspected the country, and remarking, that if it were to remain in such a defective condition the money of the instalments could not possibly be paid, he brought the whole into subjection and order; and, giving it over to *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, at the same time took upon himself the charge of seeing the cultivation of the country properly managed.

Matters being in this situation, the Nizam, *Abbas-Shah*, hearing of these things, reflected, "The Mahrattas are about to take and receive the revenue and the acknowledgment for the crown of a kingdom tributary to our *Súbah* of Arcot;" and accordingly the Nizam, accompanied by *Anavardi-Khan*, and by a hundred thousand cavalry, came and encamped before Trichinopoly. *Murari-rayer* remarking the army of *Abbas-Shah*, and perceiving from the feebleness of his own force that he could not venture to fight, entered into a negociation with *Abbas-Shah;* explaining, that it had been left in charge with him to reinstate *Raja-Vijia-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, but now that his Highness was come himself, it would be optional with him to do so, and to receive the acknowledgment for the crown, with the revenue of the country; and, giving the fort up to him, *Murari-ravu* quitted it, and went to Poona.

Thereupon *Abbas-Shah* entered and took possession of the fort; and thence sent messengers to summon and bring with them the *Carnataca* prince. In consequence *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, taking with him the crowned prince, proceeded to an interview with the Nizam, *Abbas-Shah*, who was rejoiced at seeing them; and said, "We shall give you your kingdom, but you must pay the stipulated present for the crown of thirty lacs of rupees; and, according to ancient custom, three lacs of rupees annually, agreeably to the arrangement made with the Mahrattas." Then especially addressing *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, *Abbas-Shah* required from him an instrument in the hand writing of the crowned prince *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker;* adding many assurances of restoring him to the kingdom. He then set his troops within the fort in marching order; and, proceeding with his army, *Abbas-Shah* took with him *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, and the crowned prince *Vijia-Cumara-Tirumali-Naicker*, saying, "You can return again after coming to Arcot." Subsequently to their arriving at this place *Sabder-Ali-Khan* died. As his children were young, the Nizam, *Abbas-Shah*, gave it in charge to *Anavardi-Khan*, who was with him, to remain until the children of *Sabder-Ali-Khan* should be competent to manage the affairs of the government; as also to conduct the *Carnataca* prince, *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, to Trichinopoly, and to reinstate him, receiving and remitting the money of the instalment: the whole of which instructions he gave to *Anavardi-Khan*, in the presence of *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker;* and further directed *Anavardi-Khan* to come back to him (the Nizam), when the whole of these affairs should be adjusted. The Nizam then returned to his own dominions.

The occurrences referred to in this section of the Carnataca Dynasty, and the other manuscript just quoted, are inwoven with the details in the first book of Mr. Orme's History of the Carnatic; to which the reader may refer for more accurate details of Mahomedan intrigues. On these points, Mr. Orme was the most likely to be the best informed of the three writers; while in these native documents there is more of minute specification regarding the especial affairs of the Madura kingdom. The name of the Nizam is differently spelt in the two Manuscripts. It is the same person as is more usually known to

Europeans by the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk,* who brought the Persian usurper Shah-Thamas-Kouli-Khan against Delhi. As Mr. Orme's work is pretty generally known, it is thought, on the whole, better simply to refer to him† than to occupy any larger portion of these pages with differences or agreements, which on a simple comparison will be sufficiently apparent.

PANDION CHRONICLE, Chap. 6.—CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 15.

The translation of the Telugu Manuscript is continued.

Subsequently *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, addressing *Anavardi-Khan*, said to him, "If no exertion be made, how can the Nizam *Abbas-Shah's* orders be carried into effect?" to which question the other replied, "Very well, I will do as you wish; but first the whole country must be reduced into subjection and proper order; and after some time, when all this business shall have been accomplished, I will conduct you to Trichinopoly, and seeing you reinstated, will then return to this place." At the same time he appointed to *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* a daily stipend of one hundred pagodas, and to *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* one hundred rupees daily, which sums were paid.

While things were in this situation, the people of *Vengata-giri* and *Kalastri* did not pay their tribute-money; and *Anavardi-Khan*, by consequence, proceeded to fight against them. Both of them joined their forces; and beat the Nabob's army, greatly reducing its numbers. The Nabob's howdah also fell into their hands; which *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* perceiving, said to his own people, "We are the chief of an extensive country; *Vengata-giri* and *Kalastri* are our subordinate Zemindars; if, in our immediate presence, disgrace is done to the Nabob by these petty chiefs, can we quietly look on?" Saying thus, he turned his own howdah, and rushing down across the path, resisted and fought with *Vengata-giri* and *Kalastri*, when many men fell on both sides; and the forces of *Vengata-giri* and *Kalastri* were broken and scattered. *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* received two

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* His proper name was *Asaf-Jah*. Des. Cat. Vol. 2, p. 132. This coincides with the spelling of the name in the Carnataca Dynasty.

† See Hist. of Military Transactions, &c. Vol. 1, B. 1.

wounds; of which however he thought nothing, but ordered the notes of victory to be sounded. The scattered troops of the Nabob now rallied and joined themselves with his people; and the whole, being formed into one body, returned to Arcot.

The Nabob *Anavardi-Khan* now considered within himself, "If I give the kingdom to those people, since *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* has performed this feat of heroism, they will thenceforward value me not, but will gain increasing strength." Thus, regarding *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* as a formidable rival, he sent his own people to him on the plea of dressing his wounds; and being influenced by jealousy of his bravery, and by a strong desire of usurping the kingdom as his own, which he was convinced he could not effect so long as the other lived, he bid his physicians, when dressing and binding up the wounds of the patient, under pretext of administering internal medicine, to give him poison. The physicians accordingly mingled poison with his medicine; on taking which a violent purging and vomiting ensued, for the space of an hour, and he then expired.

Under the desire of procuring to himself the *Subah* of Arcot, (*Anavardi-Khan*) had also procured the assassination of the Nabob *Sabder-Ali's* children. The scheme which he employed was to engage a band of *Patans*, who, under pretence of asking for arrears of pay, raised an altercation, and stabbed (the young prince).

The relatives of *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* becoming acquainted with the deeds done by the Nabob *Anavardi-Khan*, said to the former, "The Nabob *Anavardi-Khan* has got rid of your father, and of the children of *Sabder-Ali-Khan;* be assured that you cannot remain, for the Nabob will get quit of you also." They accordingly took the crowned prince, *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, along with them; and leaving Arcot by night, brought him with them to *Sivagangai*. All the wives of *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* entered the fire (that is, were burnt in the *Suttee*-rite). *Vijia-Cumara* performed their funeral obsequies.

Subsequently the *Sethupathi* and *Sasivana-dever* came, and rendered homage to *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, saying, "You now alone remain the valuable offspring of the Madura dynasty. That you have escaped and come hither is well. Had you remained at yonder place, then, with a view to usurp the kingdom, some convenient pretext would have been found, on your coming of age, and he

would have killed you. And now should some better time happen, some legitimate king may come, and on his making an equitable inquiry, your kingdom will revert to you. At present there is no need for you to go any where." And accordingly they settled him there; and, giving him every needful allowance, saw that this was by him constantly received.

At some short interval afterwards Chunda-Saheb, getting himself released from the Mahrattas in the north, by whom he had been detained a prisoner, joined himself with *Inayithu-Modin-Khan*, (Hidayet Mohy-u-'din,) and bringing him on, they both fell on the Arcot (country); and, during the battle that was fought, the Nabob *Anavardi-Khan* was slain. His son *Mahomed-Ali* came and took refuge in Trichinopoly. Thereupon *Inayithu-Modin-Khan* conquered Arcot.

From a review of the events which we have now passed over, it will appear that there is an anachronism in the Pandion Chronicle in its brief mention of the Nizam's visit, when it says he left *Maphuz-Khan* and *Mahomed-Ali* in charge of Trichinopoly and Madura; since these were the sons of *Anavardi-Khan*, and did not come publicly forward on the scene until some years afterwards. The statement that the Nizam took *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* to Arcot, in which the Carnataca Dynasty and Telugu Manuscript agree, is not mentioned by Mr. Orme, nor yet the battle with the Zemindars of *Vencata-giri* (or Tripetty) and *Kalastri:* in other respects there is a considerable harmony between his statements and those of these manuscripts. The reader will have readily perceived that *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* was a mere plaything in the hands of the Nizam and *Anavardi-Khan.* In his peculiar situation he could indeed do nothing more than passively yield, though a better acquaintance with the Mahomedan character would have taught him that he might preferably have continued to dwell in the woods than to trust to those wily men. The Nizam himself was a thorough-bred Machiavelian, and his *protegé*, *Anavardi-Khan*, we have seen had studied his example. Mr. Orme differs* from the manuscripts in stating that the Nizam appointed Coja Abdullah to the Nabobship, who was assassinated just before his intended departure from the Nizam's capital, and *Anavardi-Khan*, who was blamed for the assassination, was sent in his room. According to Mr. Orme,† the assassination of *Seid-Mahomed-Khan*, *Sabderali's* son, was so contrived that the blame rested with *Mortiz-Ali*, Fouzdar of Vellore, by whom the *Patans* were immediately engaged, but reverted to *Ananvardi-Khan* on *Mortiz-Ali* being received again at court, without any attempt being made at punishment. Hence the mode of procuring the death of *Bangaru-Tirumali-*

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* Book I. p. 51, 52. † Ib. p. 54–60.

Naicker, though mentioned only by the Telugu MS. acquires the greatest probability. The amount of the daily stipend to *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* and his son, is the same in the Carnataca Dynasty and Telugu MS. but reversed as to the persons receiving: on this trifling point the former of the two is most likely the correct authority. There can be no doubt, that from the time when the father and son had put themselves in the power of the Mahomedans, they ceased, intentionally on the part of the latter, to be any thing more than mere stipendiaries. Whether the Mahrattas might have treated them better is very questionable. These probably intended to imitate the conduct of *Ekoji* at Tanjore, had not the Nizam made his personal appearance. Mr. Orme says,* that the Mahrattas were sent at first by the Nizam, whose policy concurred with the applications received by the Mahrattas from Tanjore and Trichinopoly for help against Chunda-Saheb, at the time when, partly by treachery and partly by force, the latter had acquired authority over a great portion of the Madura country.

As yet the British arms had not interfered in the affairs of the Carnatic and Madura: they had indeed sent an impolitic expedition against Tanjore; but the French at Trichinopoly, under the subtle management of Mr. Dupleix, their chief, were already largely implicated. By their guarantee the ransom of Chunda-Saheb was settled with the Mahrattas; and they gave into the combination of Chunda-Saheb and Hidayet Mohy-u-'din (or Murzafa-jing) alike against the usurping Nabob of Arcot (who had slain Chunda-Saheb's relatives) and against *Nazir-jing*, eldest son of the late *Nizam-ul-mulk*, and legitimate Soubah of the Dekhan. This combination is hinted at both in the Carnataca Dynasty and Telugu MS. and therefore adverted to here; but the reader will find the details, with the treacherous and tragical results, fully stated in the first book of Mr. Orme's history of these and other connected transactions.

PANDION CHRONICLE, Chap. 6.—CARNATACA DYNASTY, Sec. 16.

Preparatory to entering on the illustration of the matters here referred to, it may be well to glance further at the advantages taken by the Mysoreans of the greatly disturbed state of affairs in the Madura kingdom. We therefore introduce a final extract, from the Memoir of *Appiya-Naicker* family, omitting the Tamil.

MYSORE AND OTHER AFFAIRS IN THE DINDIGUL PROVINCE.

In consequence of *Narasinga-Naicker's* imprisonment, his younger brother, *Bettana-Naicker*, succeeded to the chieftainship. At that time the king of the Madura

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* Book 1, p. 41.

capital, *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker, Govindapaiyer,* the son of *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker's Dalavayi, Samapaiyer, Siva-ramaiyer, Annasvamiaiyer,* these four persons, going to the capital of the *Sethupathi,* had an interview with him; and he brought with him *Velleiyen-Servai-karen,* and also some troops, and having summoned the seventy-two *Palliya-Carers,* the king was carried into the forest and there crowned. Hence, as having been crowned in the forest, he was usually styled "The forest-king;" and he (nominally) conducted the government. *Bettana-Naicker* remained there during one month, and then, receiving permission, returned to *Cannivadi.* The period of his chieftainship was seven years.

While his son *Narasingama-Naicker* was ruling the *palliyam,* the Mysoreans came, and conquered all the *palliyams.* At that time Khan-Saheb was governor in the fort of Madura. *Narasingama-Naicker* went, in consequence, to Khan-Saheb; and paid attendance on him. While doing so, *Subai-Valapaiyen* assembled some people and horses in Dindigul, and halted with them at *Vattal-Kundi;* Khan-Saheb hearing this intelligence, gave some infantry and cavalry to *Seru-Khan-Papu,* and sent him away; who having come, before engaging with *Valapaiyer,* spoke thus to *Narasingama-Naicker,* "The Mysoreans have conquered your *palliyam:* heretofore you were an especially adopted child of the (Madura) lords, and were entitled by them *Chinna-Maisuran.* Now therefore, with a view of displaying your bravery, do you come on one side, and make the attack; and if you so manage as that the (enemy's) camp is defeated and dispersed, then I will forthwith conduct you to your own town, and see you reinstated there." In consequence *Narasingama-Naicker* went into the country of the *Kallar* (Collary) people, assembled and brought with him a small body of men, and both (himself and *Seru-Khan*) together assaulted the camp of *Valapaiyer.* In the contest the latter was wounded; and his camp, being broken up and defeated, took refuge in Dindigul. Thereupon *Mallari-rayer,* one of the suite of *Seru-Khan-Papu,* went and encamped before Dindigul; while *Seru-Khan-Papu* afterwards proceeded as far as to *Narasingapur,* belonging to the *Cannivadi-palliyam.* He then despatched *Bavani-Singu,* with some infantry and cavalry, bidding him go and reinstate *Narasingama-Naicker,* settle the country, and, having remained until good order was restored, then to return. By reason of this

arrangement *Narasingama-Naicker* was restored to the government of his district; while *Seru-Khan-Papu* returned to Madura. *Valapaiyer*, who had been wounded in battle, died of his wounds; and *Mallari-rayer*, who had pursued him, captured Dindigul. At this time *Rama-Naicker** came to the government of Dindigul; who having summoned *Narasingama-Naicker*, rated him with seven thousand gold *chakrams*, as tribute: which sum he paid, and returned. Subsequently *Mirza*, on the part of *Hyder-Ali-Naicken*, came to Dindigul, and sending for *Narasingama-Naicker*, settled his tribute at seven thousand gold *chakrams;* which sum he paid. Afterwards *Syed-Saheb* came to the government of Dindigul; who summoned *Narasingama-Naicker*, and treating him with great contumely, settled his tribute at ten thousand gold *chakrams;* which sum *Narasingama-Naicker* accordingly paid.

Subsequently the *Maha-rajamaniya*, *Raja-Sri*, the gentlemen of the Honorable Company, became the sole rulers; by whom the tribute, according to ancient custom, was fixed at ten thousand two hundred gold *chakrams;* at which rate the Dindigul collector, Macleod Rankin, Esq. and ——*Unji*,† Esq. were accustomed to receive it. In the time of ——*Unji*, Esq. *Narasingama-Naicker* was deified. The period of his rule was forty years.

The narrative‡ then goes on to state that its writer was the son of the last-mentioned chief; and to give an account of the manner of his own employment, by Mr. Hurdis and Colonel Innis, as guide and pioneer, with his people, against the Virupachi Poligar. These details, which are very minute, pertain to a later period than that to which our manuscripts bring us, and are considered to be irrelevant to the present work.

The elucidation of the matters contained in the closing portions of our leading manuscripts may best be conducted towards a conclusion by adding the remaining portion of the Telugu Manuscript, § which comes down to a somewhat later period than either of the other two. It here follows.

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* Apparently, by driving away the other. This one seems to be a Mysore governor.

† Native spelling—it may be Wynch. The name of the next following collector is stated to be Mr. Hurdis.

‡ It is Art. xxvi. No. 1, p. xliv. Vol. 2 of Mr. Wilson's Descriptive Catalogue.

§ This Manuscript is the one marked in Mr. Wilson's Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. 2, p. xlvii, Art. xxxi. No. 1. It is erroneously classed among Local Tracts, in Tamil; perhaps because the book was labelled outside "Tamull Keyfeyutt" by some careless native: the three tracts contained in the book are however each one in the Telugu language.

MAHOMED-ALI'S POLITICAL INTRIGUE AND ASSUMPTION OF MADURA.

Subsequently Chunda-Saheb came to Pondicherry, and entered into close union with the French people; thence proceeding to lay siege to Trichinopoly. *Alamu-kan* (Alum-Khan), one of Chunda-Saheb's adherents, having conquered the Madura and Tinnevelly countries, appointed his own son-in-law, named *Muttimiya-Nazir-Khan*, to the charge of them; and said to him, "You know that from the time of our ancestors, they have been servants employed by the Trichinopoly government, and myself also; therefore this kingdom belongs not to us. The *Carnataca* monarch is now in the *Maraver's* country; your business must be to call him thence; to see him crowned (or reinstated); and then to seek from him a *jaghir* (estate in fief) for your services." Alum-Khan then proceeded to join himself with Chunda-Saheb's army; and was killed in battle. They also destroyed Chunda-Saheb. *Muttimiyana-Nazir-Khan*, according to the instructions of Alum-Khan, came to Ramnad; and calling the *Sethupathi's* chief minister (*Piratani*), who was named *Velleiyen-Servi-caren*, he brought him to *Sivagangai;* and there also calling *Tandavaraya-pillay*, the *Piratani* of *Sasivarna-dever*, (*palliya-caren* of *Sivagangai*,) he brought them both to *Velleicuruchi;* and, taking thence *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, they brought him to the Madura capital; and, according to the former customary ordinance, *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* received the sceptre from the hands of *Minatchi*, in the temple and presence of *Minatchi* and *Suntaresvarer:* and being mounted on an elephant, seated in a howdah, he made a public entry; after which he was crowned. All the Zemindars and *Palliya-carers* paid homage: some of them offering a peculiar present of new garments;* and some brought presents of gold and silver flowers, showering them over him: and, prostrating themselves, rendered the honors usually

* This kind of vestment, when brought, is waved round about the king by way of incantation to keep off the effects of an evil-eye, and is then given to the attendants. In a lower degree, in marriages, and other solemn ceremonies, the custom is still in use.

given to the divinity. At the same time the office of *Piratani* was given to *Alagapa-Muthaliar*, and he received the title of *Dalavayi-Muthaliar*. The king thus ruled two years, from *Angira* year down to *Stri-muga* year.

In this position of affairs the Nabob, *Mahomed-Ali-Khan*, who was in Trichinopoly, sent one *Asuphu'-din-Saheb*,* a Mahomedan *pir* (or saint), giving into his hand a hundred thousand rupees, and sent by him a written instrument, conveying to *Mahomed-Miya*, who had married the daughter of *Mahomed-Khan-Mayana*, a *jaghir* of *Dimapur* and *Tiruvattur* (Trivatore), village lands, and engaging to give fifty thousand rupees, with a *jaghir* of one hundred thousand rupees, to the aforesaid *Mahomed-Miya*. The Mahomedan *pir* was instructed to tamper with the said *Mahomed-Miya*, aided by these arguments, with the view of engaging him to a treacherous seizure of the king. *Mahomed-Khan-Mayana* (the father-in-law) agreed to these terms; and the negociation becoming known to *Hussein-Khan-Mayana*, the elder brother of *Mahomed-Khan-Mayana;* he was very angry with his brother, and said, "From the time of our great forefathers, (our family) have served these Carnataca lords, and have lived on their bounty; if now we act treacherously towards them, it will not be pleasing to the Deity; neither will it be acceptable to men: nor will the ill fame of such a proceeding ever depart." On making this remonstrance, he forthwith ordered his family and personal attendants to be in readiness; and then proceeded to an audience of the king, making known to him, that should he remain here, he was in danger of evil machinations, instigated by emissaries from the Nabob; adding, "In a suitable time your kingdom will come to you: at this time it seems advisable and needful, that you should remove hence." On conveying this information, he, without a moment's delay, took the king with him, protected by his own armed people: and leaving the king (at *Velleicuruchi*) took his leave of the king; but declined any such interview with his brother, and went away direct to his own *jaghir* at *Kohzi-kudi* (on the western frontier). The Nabob then usurped the kingdom.

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* The Telugu letters make out the name *Opasarundin-Saheb*.

Alum-Khan is somewhat favorably represented by Mr. Orme, and he does not here appear to disadvantage. His head was taken off by a cannon shot, in a skirmish * against Major Lawrence and Captain Clive. On looking a little more closely at the original of the Pandion Chronicle, we find it is said that he went and joined himself to Chunda-Saheb, and perished in a dispute. Chunda-Saheb was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner; and, by a singular † complication of contending interests, was beheaded, after having richly merited his fate. The intrigue of *Mahomed-Ali* deserves attention. In time past much has been said about the British assumption of the Carnatic. It may be well therefore to consider maturely in what way *Anavardi-Khan*, and his son *Mahomed-Ali*, came by their territorial possessions. The details have been given.

FALLEN ESTATE OF THE MADURA ROYAL-FAMILY.

As *Velleicuruchi* was near to Madura, the *Sethupathi* sent his *Piratani* to say to the king that the Nabob would do him mischief there; and called him away alone with the utmost speed: he then built for the king a palace at *Derbha-sainam*, near to Ramnad, and gave up to him the village called *Vira-Soren*. Besides which he gave him household expenses, and supplied him with furniture, and every other necessary. Such being the case, in the month *Vyasi* of *Nandana* year, the Nabob sent *Ummad-ullam-Khan* with orders to take the Ramnad and Sivagangai districts, adding, "As the Madura and Trichinopoly raja is concealed in that country, and, as we have taken possession of his kingdom, by his means some mischief may befall us: therefore that man must not be allowed to remain alive." According to these instructions the Nabob's son came, and, while being about to take the Ramnad fort, he had despatched *harcarras* (messengers) to find out where *Raja-Vijia-Mutthu-Cumari-Tirumali-Naicker* was staying; and, when on the point of despatching a battalion and some troopers to take the king, the messengers which the latter had instructed to proceed to Ramnad to gather intelligence heard of this intended proceeding, and forthwith reported it to the king. Immediately on learning this news the king had post-horses prepared, with elephants, and camels for the

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* Hist. Mil. Trans. Vol. 1, B. iii. p. 216. † Ib. p. 236—241.

baggage; and, putting the females belonging to his family in palanquins, he set out that same night: he went into the western district, and calling the people of the *Kallar-nad* (the collaries), proceeded to the *Palliyam* of the chief *Tirumali-Kandapa-Naicker*, who came forth to meet him at its boundary, and bringing gold and silver flowers, which he scattered at the king's feet: then prostrating himself and doing homage, said, "My lord, this district is your gift; therefore you may remain here;" and then, escorting him, he built for him a residence, and gave over to him the village of *Tekam-patti*. Besides which he supplied the king with household expenses and needful furniture; while he himself went twice a day to the palace, and paying homage, waited in respectful attendance for more than one hour; and then taking leave, was accustomed to return to his own house. This intercourse of respectful duty, according to his obligations, he steadily continued.

After the king had remained there a long time, "*Maha-raja-Sri*, the Honorable Lord Pigot," arrived at Madras, and the king hearing that he was about to proceed to Tanjore, to crown and restore to *Tollaja-raja* that kingdom, he sent the *Dalavayi-Minatchi-Naicker* to the Lord Saheb; who procured an interview with his lordship, by means of the Dubash, *Mutthu-Krishna-Muthaliar*. His lordship was very gracious; and, having inquired into the matters of antiquity, which he noted down, he caused two hundred pagodas to be given for expenses, saying, "After going to Tanjore, and seeing that king crowned, I return to this place; and then proceeding to Trichinopoly, I will send for your king, and will do for your king according to what I am now about to do at Tanjore. Until my return you will remain here." The Lord Saheb thereupon proceeded to Tanjore; and, having crowned the king, returned to the town (of Madras), where, by the treachery of the persons at that place, his lordship died. *Minatchi-Naicker*, on learning this intelligence, considered it no longer safe to remain there; and quitting it, came to the town of *Kandapa-Naicker*, and reported all past occurrences personally to *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*. After remaining there some time longer, *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker* was deified, in the twenty-third day of *Margali* month of *Yevalambi* year.

His son *Raja-Visvanatha-Naicker*, according to usage, succeeded him. The Poli-

gars, *Tirumali-Kandapa-Naicker*, *Bodei-Naicker*, *Irachiki-Naicker*, *Yelambadei-Naicker*, *Appachi-Kavunden*, *Uttapa-Naicker*, all assembled, and agreeably to the statutes and ordinances of the capital, anointed and installed (the successor). The aforesaid *Palliya-Carers* brought silver and gold flowers, which they strewed at his feet; and made the ceremony of waving new garments around him: they then prostrated themselves, and having rendered homage, presented the usual donations, or offerings. (The installed prince) gave vestments to all of them, and dismissed them. One year afterwards all the before-mentioned *Palliya-Carers* again assembled, and conducted the marriage ceremonies of *Raja-Visvanatha-Naicker*, who remained at that place during the space of six years.

Subsequently to this period the country came under the authority of the Company's people; who, according to ancient rights and privileges, gave up their districts to the *Sethupathi*, the *Sivagangai* (chief), and others. And afterwards calling for the Zemindar, according to prescriptive right, they gave up to him *Velleicuruchi*. The name of his son is *Raja-Vijia-Cumara-Visvanatha-Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*.

The latest notice which we have met with of this family is in one of the *Mirtanjeya* MSS. containing copy of a certificate by four Bramins; which represents the last-mentioned of the royal race as then a personal suppliant at Madras. We give a translation of the document entire; because what is repetition may serve instead of any *resume* of our own as to the whole dynasty; and also because the rest is best stated in its own manner.

TO THE COMPANY-SIRCAR.

In the year 1820, the month of December, the sixteenth day, the following testimony was written, and delivered by the four undermentioned persons: that is to say—

Senbaga-Suntera-Pattar, *Mirtanjeya-Pattar* } of the line of Bramins established by *Vicrama-Pandion*.

Kupa-Pattar, *Minatchi-natha-Pattar* } of the line of *Kulasegara*.

These four persons being superintendents of the temple of *Minatchi* and *Sundaresvarer*, of the Madura division, of the *Mada-Kulam-Taluk*, having been directed to write an

account of the affairs of those who ruled in the *Carnataca* kingdom, we have, agreeably to this order, written as follows.

According to books written by our forefathers, and to traditions delivered by them verbally, and heard by us, we know and write to the ensuing purport.

In the S.S. 1481, in the *Sittarti* year, according to permission from the *Rayer*, the lords who ruled the kingdom were as here specified.

The son of *Cottiya-Nagama-Naicker* was *Visvanatha-Naicker*. His son was *Kistnapa-Naicker*. His son was *Virapa-Naicker*. His son was *Cumara-Kistnapa-Naicker*. His younger brother was *Visvapa-Naicker*. His younger brother was *Casturi-Rangapa-Naicker*. The son of the above *Visvapa-Naicker* was *Mutthu-Kistnapa-Naicker*. His son was *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*. His younger brother was *Tirumali-Savuri*. His son was *Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*. His son was *Choka-Natha-Naicker*. His son was *Ranga-Kistna-Mutthu-Virapa-Naicker*. His son was *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker*, who being a child, his grandmother, the crowned wife of the above *Choka-natha-Naicker*, named *Mangamal*, ruled the kingdom. After that, the said *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-Natha-Naicker* himself ruled. As he had no child, his royal wife *Minatchi-Ammal*, assuming the crown, her brother *Vencata-Perumal-Naicker* ruled the country. Thus during one hundred and eighty years the Carnataca lords were reigning. In the S.S. 1660, in the *Sittarti* year, Chanda-Saheb and Badeh-Saheb, in the time of disturbance, took possession of the *Carnataca* (kingdom). At that time *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, the son of *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, a relative of *Minatchi-Ammal*, was in Madura. Then the *Piratani* of the *Sethupathi*, named *Velleiyen-servi-karen*, and the *Piratani* of *Udiya-dever*, named *Tandavaraya-pillay*, conducted the aforesaid *Vijia-Cumara*, and placed him in *Vellei-curchi*, a village belonging to the *Sivagangai* Zemindary. As the family and relatives of the said *Vijia-Cumara* were very numerous, the before-mentioned persons gave to these, for the purpose of maintenance, some villages and connected lands. The names of these villages which were made over to them are the following :

Vira-solen, in the Ramnad Zemindary. *Velleicurchi*, as above, in the *Sivaganga* Zemindary. *Setteicurchi*, in the *Bodei-naicken* Zemindary. *Tegampetti*, in the *Kandaman-naicken* Zemindary. They had now been thirteen years and six months in *Vellei-*

curchi, when the fort of Madura, which had been taken by Cope-Saheb, with the aid of the Mysoreans, was retaken by the before-mentioned two persons; that is *Velleiyen-Servi-Karen* and *Tandavaraya-pillay*, who drove Cope-Saheb away, and entered Madura. They then brought the aforesaid *Vijia-Cumara* from *Velleicurchi*, and in *Margali* month of *Angirasa* year had him crowned. He ruled six months, in the *Carnataca* fashion, down to *Strimuga* year; and while so ruling, *Myana*, *Mantimeya*, and *Nabi-Khan*, these three persons, dismissed the above-mentioned *Naicker*, sent him to *Velleicurchi*, and took possession of the fort with the kingdom of Madura. The son of *Vijia-Cumara-Mutthu-Tirumali-Naicker*, who was in the above-mentioned *Velleicurchi*, was *Visvanatha-Naicker*. His son was *Vijia-Cumara-Visvanatha-Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*. He is now waiting in attendance at *Chennapatnam* (Madras). His brothers, and all the people of his family, are at *Velleicurchi*. Among the four villages that were assigned to them for their maintenance, *Vira-Solen* village of the Ramnad Zemindary, and *Setteicurchi* in *Bodei-Naicker* Zemindary, being taken away by the Zemindars, the said family suffer great distress from want of sufficient maintenance. There are also others of the Carnataca race.—This account we give with our full assent and belief.

These presents are written and delivered as testimonies, in consequence of inquiries sent from the Sircar at *Chennapatnam* regarding the *Carnataca* rule at Madura.

The remaining details in the closing portion of the Pandion Chronicle will not further demand much observation. Cook-Saheb (spelt according to the original) denotes Captain Cope. Mr. Orme represents him as besieging the fort of Madura with insufficient means, and suffering a severe* repulse, compelling him to raise the siege. The account by Mr. Orme of the attack by the Collaries on Colonel Heron's army in the *Natam* pass† is highly graphical and interesting. Other matters are local and not very important. Colonel Preston entered the fort by breaching and storming it on the north-west angle, where a new wall, still called Preston's battery, exists; and an eighteen-pounder shot, fired during this attack, still sticks in the wall over the north, or Trichinopoly, gate. Any minute statement of particulars however on these points, besides being found elsewhere, is not the object of this work, which is rather to illustrate the ancient history of the kingdom, by general

* Hist. Mil. Trans. Vol. 1, Book. 3, p. 170. † Ib. B. 5, p. 392—394.

outlines, in connexion with the manners, morals, and sentiments of the people, down to the period where historians of the Mahomedan and British Military transactions have taken up the recital. This object, with one exception, is now completed.

That exception relates to the dates, especially at the remoter periods, in which there is some discrepancy and confusion in the various native authorities adduced. If however the reader, who may think the matter of any importance, will take the pains to mark down the various dates to be met with, in the *Salivahana-Sagartam* era, treating them as specified Vol. 2, p. 122, he will perceive that the disagreements are not extreme, with a few exceptions in the higher dates. And we do not know that by any effort we could come at a nearer approximation to a decision than is attempted in the page just referred to; though the adjustment is there allowed to remain open. We trust we now may, with the reader's permission, consider the point as settled to the best of our means and ability. If any thing further be attempted, it must be by consulting accurate copies of the most ancient inscriptions.

As regards the historical and moral bearing of this work, the reader will doubtless have perceived much, in the past state of the people, to regret, or to deplore. Still do they remain ignorant, superstitious, and prostrate before the dogmas and absurd puerilities inculcated by Bramins. Education, if conducted on the principles of true knowledge and science, may do much for them. But to teach them merely their own shasters, and allow of nothing else, will be of little benefit to them, or be worse than useless. Human science, or the highest attainments of merely human wisdom, can do them little good in raising the moral tone of their minds, and emancipating them from degrading and enervating superstitions, or slavish prejudices. The Christian religion, taught directly in its plainness, simplicity, purity, and power, has hitherto, in past experience, been found to be the only lever than can raise the moral tone of a nation's mind; and impart to them a dignified position, in a general comparison with their species. Those who believe in the divine authority of the Christian religion, are bound, by the very admission, to regard it as an emanation of infinitely superior wisdom to any thing that is merely earthly; and by necessity not given in vain, or without an existing necessity, and an express adaptation to the design in view, with an apparatus of means to secure the full application of the power when properly employed. For to admit a divine origin, and an emana-

tion from infinite wisdom, not possessing such attributes, must be a singular inconsistency of belief, or very great error of judgment; while, by a manifest contradiction, that which is formally admitted to be divine, must be practically regarded and treated as not level even to the limited attainment of wisdom which is merely human; for even human wisdom never avows an end, and seeks its attainment, without the use of adequate means. But the express design of the Christian Revelation is to raise the tone, in morals and sentiment, of mankind at large, as a necessary ultimate end; though not the chief end, which is higher still. To avow therefore a belief of the Christian religion, and yet to be opposed to its dissemination, by all legitimate and honorable means, among the natives, must be either positive and known disingenuousness, or else an evidence of a state of intellect certainly not enviable.

Political or private interests may indeed interfere, and tend to produce such a sophism of the mind as we have adverted to. Whether they ought, or ought not, to do so, is a question on which we shall waste no words: it being well known to be a hopeless effort to attempt to persuade any one to an induction opposed to known interests. Changes, in this matter, are only to be wrought by the express agency of Divine Providence, or the gradual force and expansion of public opinion, bearing on public concerns. We are however satisfied that to diffuse knowledge, founded on unexceptionable testimony—the most unexceptionable being unforced confession—is the direct means of producing that impression on the public mind, which, sooner or later, will surely exert its own moral force, and break through obstacles, by gradual and well prepared changes; such as, viewed at an earlier period, would appear to be impossible, as being impeded by obstacles, considered to be impregnable, or insurmountable. India, within the short compass of the present century, has witnessed some of these great moral changes; and, before the close of the century, it may very possibly witness many more.

In cases where a direct and avowed denial is made of the divine origin of Christianity, there is more of consistency, though to us unenviable, in speculatively arguing against, and practically impeding, its dissemination. Most of the obstacles thrown in the way, by overt acts or proceedings of Europeans, have in reality resulted from

this source, though the origin has frequently not been defined by its true name. It is however incumbent on all, who may be conscious of denying or disbelieving the divine origin of the ameliorating system which we plead for, without having seriously investigated its claims, to remember that it possesses a body of external testimony and internal evidence which challenges candid inquiry; and the result is always perfectly sure. A thinking individual of such a class, we should suppose, cannot but perceive, on attention, that he owes his own proud station above millions of idolaters around him to the elevated tone of a nation's mind, raised by the Christianity of others, and lifting him along with it; even as a vessel is raised by the flowing tide, on which it merely floats, without forming an integral portion. Universal experience ought to be his teacher.

Europeans have also a further responsibility resting on them, as regards the indirect, but very powerful, influence of their example. Do they consider the term *Feringhi* in that sense wherein it used to be, and still is partially, employed by natives to be a reproach? then let them universally rise above the level of the vices, which used to mark the *Feringhis* of former days, and exhibit the moral influence of goodness; always powerful; very perceptible by natives; and quite as lovely as awful in their view. Public bodies of men who have the ameliorating the condition of the more degraded portions of the human race for their object, may be encouraged by knowing that Hinduism is self-contradictory, and self-destructive, when brought into contact with scriptural light and knowledge. It then admits its own inferiority, and only shelters itself behind a rampart of ancient custom, prejudice, and family interests; but has no unity or integrity in itself. Hinduism is yet a giant in dimensions; but without nerve: it is already seen to rest on certain public props, mercifully extended to it; but whenever an impartial policy, and public wisdom, aided or induced by changes of public opinion, shall see it to be fit or expedient to withdraw them, and leave the giant to walk alone, then, in a strong epileptic fit, will Hinduism fall to the ground, crushed and dismembered by its own weight; to rise, to live, and breathe, again no more.

APPENDIX.

A.

AN INQUIRY CONCERNING THE EARLIEST LOCATION OF MANKIND AFTER THE DELUGE.

In the first volume, at p. 143, and again at p. 236, some intimations were given, leading to an implied doubt, whether the more common opinion, as to the earliest location of the children of Noah subsequently to the flood, be the correct one. It may be needful, for the sake of some readers, to observe, that this doubt is not there hinted at for the first time, as will immediately be perceptible; and, also, that the question is not, whether the inspired book of Genesis says that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat, since that is unquestionable; but whether Mount Masis, in Armenia, also called in the present day Ardagh, or "Finger Mountain," and usually considered to be the scriptural Ararat, be, in reality, the precise locality designated, and meant to be designated, by the sacred writer. Were the latter point free from doubt or difficulty, the question must be considered as settled at once. But such is not the case: and we purpose to bestow a little space to the discussion of the subject.

The learned Dr. Shuckford, in his elaborate and valuable work on the connexion of sacred and profane history, has adduced some reasons for an opinion contrary to the received one; inducing him to fix the site of the true Ararat in Bactria, or Cashgar; or, more generally speaking, somewhere near the northern boundaries of Hindustan. His inductive proofs are, first and chiefly, that the sacred historian expressly says, (Gen. xi. 2.) that the first emigrants "journeyed from the east" till they found a plain in the land of Shinar, "and dwelt there." But the Armenian mountain is almost due north of the land of Shinar, or plain of Babylon. The second indication is, that no mention whatever is made of Noah among the turbulent settlers at Babel, who being alive till after that epoch, would doubtless have been mentioned had he been there. Hence Dr. Shuckford observes that some authors have supposed Ararat to be some of the mountains to the *north of India*, where they think the ark rested, and that Noah settled there: *while part only* of his descendants travelled to Shinar; to which latter portion the sacred historian confines his record, as that only which was immediately connected with the particular family to be the leading theme of his writings. The reasons tending to support the opinion that the earliest location of Noah's descendants was north of India, are the following ones:—It affords a plain and simple interpretation of the Mosaic narrative—is supported by ancient western testimonies—

agrees with some Chaldean traditions—with the early accounts of the Chinese—and with some early Assyrian vestiges. The inference from Scripture is direct: from the mountainous district north of India, the first migratory portion of mankind, proceeding towards Shinar, would journey "from the east." Ancient western testimonies are brought from Portius Cato, and Justin. The first says, "Two hundred and fifty years before Ninus the earth was overflowed with waters, and mankind began again in *Saga-Scythia*." Justin intimates that the Scythians might contend for priority of origin with the most ancient nations of the world. Now *Saga-Scythia* is in the same latitude with Bactria, between the Caspian sea and *Imaus*, north of Mount *Parapamisus*. Further, Chaldean traditions say, that when *Xisuthrus* (or Noah) came out of the ark, with his wife and daughter, and the pilot of the ark, he offered sacrifice to God: after which they disappeared, nor were seen again; but the sons of *Xisuthrus* journeyed towards Babylonia, where they built Babylon, and other cities. Besides, the Chinese history and traditions favor the like conclusion: they say that *Fohi* (or Noah) had no father; that he carefully bred seven sorts of creatures, which he was accustomed to sacrifice to the pervading spirit of the universe, deriving thence his name; and that he settled in the province of *Xeusi*, the north-west province of China. Dr. Shuckford, who draws these statements from Martini, Hist. Sinica,* Le Comptes,† Memoir of China, and Couplets Confucius,‡ infers, that the being without father, denotes the first man after the deluge; that the sacrifice is the same thing as is conspicuous in the Mosaic account of Noah; and notes, that the north-west province of China is near the supposed site of Ararat, on the north of India. Lastly, some early accounts represent Ninus and Semiramis, about three hundred years after the dispersion of Nimrod's people from Babel, as attacking the region of the east, with the united forces of that dispersion, yet finding the nations about Bactria fully able to resist and repel all their armies; whence follows the direct inference, that Bactria must have had an organized, and a warlike, people earlier than themselves. From the whole Dr. Shuckford§ concludes, that Noah came out of the ark near *Saga-Scythia*, on the hills beyond Bactria, north of India; where he lived to an advanced age, giving those of his posterity near him the benefit of his counsels and care; that part of his posterity spread down to India on the south; part penetrated east to China, peopled Scythia, and the more northern continent; thence passing over to North America: and he wishes that we could obtain a more thorough insight into the antiquities and records of the primitive nations, if there be any such records extant. It may be noted, that these conclusions were formed nearly a century before the field of Sanscrit literature was opened to Europeans; and the learned writer in one place‖ speaks of Indian writings as lost; including under one generic term both Hindus and Chinese.

These arguments have not, we believe, been fully adverted to, by those who have denied the inferential conclusion. The absence of Noah from Babel has been admitted, but it has been said, "that it was more consistent with the character and situation of Noah to sit "down to the quiet enjoyment of the rest of his days in the cultivation of his vineyard in

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* Page 21. † Page 313. ‡ Preface, p.p. 38, 76.

§ Sacred and Profane History of the World connected. Vol. 1. B. 2. ‖ Ib. p. 104.

"Armenia, and in devout contemplation of the awful scene he had witnessed, and of his "own signal favor with the Almighty, than to take part in the turbulent measures of his "apostate children, which could not but remind him of the violence and wickedness of the "former world."* It has also been thought that "plausible traditions of the ancients, or of the Chinese, are vastly overborne by those which refer us directly to Armenia."†

The argument which proceeds on the simple and direct interpretation of the Mosaic account—"they journeyed from the east"—being considered the strongest, has received the most attentive discussion. A glance at the map is sufficient to shew, that the commonly received Ararat is somewhat west, as well as north, of the plain of Shinar. Mr. Bryant gets over this difficulty, by supposing that a part of the race of Noah took their departure from (Armenian) Ararat, towards the east in the first instance, that next they took a turn and bent their course southerly, and then retrograding, finally came "from the east" to Shinar. Hence his implied paraphrase necessarily is, "And it came to pass, as they journeyed" (towards the east, and then towards the south, they altered their course, and came) "from the east." Such a mode of supposition accords with a spirit of hypothesis too much indulged by Mr. Bryant; but in this instance he has not been approved, or followed. Mr. Faber, in his "Origin of Pagan Idolatry," rejects such a mode of paraphrase; but seeks to support the general conclusion, in harmony with the common opinion, by arguments drawn from Biblical criticism. He translates the Hebrew word, rendered "from the east," by "before," or "from the first." He says that the Septuagint renders Ararat by the word Armenia; and he derives an argument from a passage in one of the Hebrew prophets which speaks of forces drawn from Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz against Babylon, and coming from the north.

Before we enter on some consideration of these criticisms, we may further note, that the received opinion, which both Mr. Bryant and Mr. Faber support, numbers also the authorities of Abydenus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and, above all, Josephus. Berosus also (who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus) says that the ark rested on one of the mountains of Armenia. If we allude to such modern travellers as Morier, Sir R. Kerr Porter, and the amiable and much lamented Rev. Henry Martyn, who have fallen in with the common opinion, it is merely to note, that they appear to have done so without particular inquiry; by receiving that opinion as fully established. Some stress has been laid on the position, that Josephus must have known the opinion of his countrymen, the people of Judea; which may be granted, even while doubting whether they were the most competent judges on such a point; unless clear evidence of tradition, from Abraham down to the great Hebrew legislator, could be shown, proving that by Ararat, the latter intended to denote the mountain in Armenia. It may also be noted, in perfect fairness to the question, that Father Chamich's History of Armenia, translated by Mr. Johannes Avdall, and published in Calcutta a few years since, assumes, as a matter of course, that the ark rested on a mountain of Armenia: but then this writer is very modern; and his own derivation of the term Ararat (as applied to the whole land of Armenia) is from *Arah,* an ancient king, which militates to some extent against the com-

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* Mansford's Scripture Gazetteer, Art. *Ararat.* † Ib.

mon opinion. Still, so completely is the origin of this tradition lost in the night of by-gone time, that (apart from Scripture) there is more strength perhaps arising out of the simple fact of such a tradition, than from any other source; and were the Armenian tradition only balanced by Chinese tradition, we should probably ourselves also feel inclined to give the former the preference.

But now if we examine the Mosaic record, and first in connexion with Mr. Faber's criticism on Gen. xi. 2, we cannot but note that the prefix MEM usually signifies *from*, or *out of*, and not *before*, at least in the sense of *time*; as also that the word MIKEDEM, is literally and most naturally rendered "from (or out of) the east," as by our authorized version, while admitting "eastward," perhaps incorrectly, into the margin. The Septuagint renders the word by *apo anatolon*, "from the eastern parts;" the Vulgate by *de oriente*, "from the east;" and Junius and Tremelius (the most critical of Latin versions) by *ab oriente*. Let it be granted, on the authority of the first rate critic, Bochart, quoting Habakkuk, chap. i. 12, that in this passage the same word MIKEDEM, cannot be so literally rendered without embarrassment to the sense; yet still the conclusion only is, that in Hebrew, as in all other languages, words have a figurative and poetical meaning, as well as a plain and literal one: and we cannot hastily concede the figurative and poetical sense, in so plain and simple a narrative, and in a style so simple and unadorned, as that of the book of Genesis. It is every way most probable, that the plain literal sense is to be taken in the Mosaic record; even as without hesitation we naturally accept the figurative one, in the high and fervid poetry of the prophet; who, in his use of poetry and metaphor, is even distinguished among others of the minor prophets. Add further the consideration that, in a language known to have undergone such changes as did the very ancient Hebrew, a word adduced from so comparatively late an authority as the book of Habakkuk, is not an entirely safe criterion by which to judge of the proper use of a word in the more primitive book of Genesis. The reference of Mr. Faber, in confirmation of his criticism, to Gen. ii. 14, if we perfectly understand it, neither seems to be accurate, nor yet in point. He says, "The word, ill rendered in our "English translation *from the east*, denotes *before*, in the sense of *time* or *place*; when used "to describe the course of the Hiddekel, it intimated—that that river flowed *before* Assyria, "not *to the eastward of it*." The reference is to Gen. ii. 14—"The third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth *toward the east of Assyria*." Here the word is not MIKEDEM, but KIDMATH, KIDMATH ASSHUR; rendered *ad orientem Assyriam* by Junius and Tremelius, though the Septuagint and Vulgate give the same rendering as Mr. Faber. The word occurs in Gen. xxv. 6.—"Eastward into the east country," KIDMATH EL-ERETZ KEDEM, where the sense cannot well be mistaken. But being a different, though kindred word, it weighs nothing in ascertaining the meaning of MIKEDEM. Notwithstanding, Mr. Faber adds, immediately after the sentence just before quoted, "And here it teaches us in a manner exactly agreeable to "the general context of the history, not that the builders of the tower discovered the plain "as they journeyed *from the east*, but as they first journeyed; that is to say, in the course "of their first general migration from Ararat, (in Armenia,) near which they would doubt-"less remain after the flood, until their numbers had sufficiently increased for the forming "of new settlements. In this sense accordingly the passage is rightly understood by "Josephus, who says not a single syllable respecting any supposed journey *from the east*

" but simply intimates that when men first ventured to descend from the high ground where " the ark had rested, they travelled to the plain of Shinar, which was the first country that " they planted." It here seems to be *assumed* that the site of Eden, and the resting place of the ark, were the same, which we believe has not, and cannot be proved; nor can we admit the identity. And the silence of Josephus neither affirms nor contradicts the sacred writer; or rather he affirms, because he does not contradict; and if he were to contradict, his authority would be worth nothing: the sacred writer, independent of Josephus, must be taken on his own plain and direct meaning, whatever that meaning be. And when Josephus speaks of the first country planted, the plain construction is, by those who travelled to Shinar, neither asserting a universal migration, nor denying a previous location.

We may now turn to Gen. viii. 4, 5, where it is said, " The ark rested—on the mountains of Ararat;" and " the tops of the mountains were seen." Hence the common mode of alluding to Ararat, as if one mountain, is plainly inaccurate. The original bears out this plural rendering, being HAREYI-ARARAT, and RAASHEYI-HEHARIM. The Septuagint certainly does not here render this word Ararat by Armenia, but simply by *ta horee ta Ararat*, " the Ararat mountains." Junius and Tremelius read *super uno montium Ararati*, " upon one of the mountains of Ararat." But the inspired Hebrew text plainly rendered does not, in our view at least, appear to accord with the received, or common, Mount Ararat. This has indeed two peaks, or the greater and lesser Ararat; and according to angular measurements from Erivan, made by Captain (now Colonel) Monteith, the distance between the two peaks is twelve thousand yards, with a cleft or glen between; but it is still singular and solitary in its grandeur. We might, in passing, perhaps advert to the great difference in height between the Himalaya mountains, and others in the same province, compa[illegible] Mount Masis; being not less than from fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand feet, or the whole difference in some cases, and more than the difference in others, between the level of Switzerland and the top of Mont Blanc; a consideration that may weigh in the scale of probabilities when the subsiding waters of a deluge are in question. Does then such a mountain as Ardagh in Armenia, of nine thousand six hundred feet elevation, appear fully to answer the indications of the sacred writings? Let it be compared, for instance, with the many tops or peaks of Himalaya, in the great northern range of mountains; and then let it be decided which best answers to the indication? It is true that from the greater Ararat (so called) some smaller mountains run off, or, as described by Sir R. K. Porter, " start from the sides, like branches from the root of a tree." But the metaphor used implies comparative insignificance. All travellers, struck with the grandeur in that region of the assumed Ararat, consider it as one mountain, scarcely noticing the puny offsets. But Himalaya, with its many peaks, is a stupendous elevation, amidst gigantic mountains on all sides; hence " mountains" and " mountain tops" here would seem to be most applicable: that it is the " Maha-meru of a thousand peaks," is possible, though not certain; and geography shews it be to part of the range called *Imaus*, both by ancient geographers and Hindu legend.

The inference drawn by Mr. Faber from the prophet Jeremiah, demands some attention. It turns entirely on the word Ararat being used to denote the country of Armenia. We think it clear, from the construction of the original in the book of Genesis, that the sacred writer is there speaking of the name of particular mountains, not of the general name of a

country. And if the statement contained in Avdall's History of Armenia be accurate, as we conceive it to be, that the country came to be called Ararat from the name of *Arah*, an early king, then we have a sufficient reason for the prophet's speaking of it as known by that name in his day, and also for setting aside Mr. Faber's derivation of Armenia, from *Ar*, and *Minni*, or the mountainous country of *Minni;* which derivation moreover is not sanctioned by the passage in the prophet Jeremiah, (chap. li. 27.) We there read of the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz; and Mr. Faber's attempt to blend Ararat and Minni together, as if the words were in regimen, must not be admitted; since MAMELCHOTH ARARAT, MINNI, VE ASHCHENAZ, can only be so rendered by a critical perversion, not by a fair translation, such as the authorized English version, supported as it is by more accurately critical versions: for instance, that of Junius and Tremelius, the most strictly literal and critical version that we have met with. Thus we think it possible to leave the prophet's language in its plain literal import, fulfilled as it was by the assemblage of armies under Cyrus, in his siege of Babylon, without at all affecting the question, as to the precise mountain, or chain of mountains, intended by the sacred writer in the book of Genesis, termed by him HAREYI ARARAT.

The strong scriptural argument, adduced by Dr. Shuckford, from Gen. xi. 2.—"And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there," remains undamaged, if not incontrovertible. It appears so to us; and, also, that it is strengthened by the critical failures (if we rightly so deem them) of Mr. Faber, and the singularly unwarrantable hypothesis of Mr. Bryant. The like result seems to us to be produce[illegible] another singular supposition, which makes the first emigrants from Ararat [illegible]avelled in a semi-circular direction, half round all the points of the compass, following the course of the river Euphrates, from its rise until near Bagdad; supposing such to be a natural mode of travelling, as being led on by the river; and confirming the hypothesis by the important discovery that the Phrat is no other word than *Vrat*, which in Sanscrit means a circle, (not a semi-circle we presume); and therefore the first emigrants went in a semi-circular route, by the banks of the river, which hence they termed Phrat, or *Vrat*, the Euphrates. Of this hypothesis Dr. Mansford seems to approve. However, as yet we have not seen the words of the book of Genesis, "from the east," satisfactorily disposed of by any inferential deduction differing from that of Dr. Shuckford.

His argument receives support from another source of inference,* before only slightly adverted to. It appears, by all we can gather from fragments of very ancient history, that the two kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh very soon became engaged in war. We meddle not here with the dispute whether Ashur went forth from Babel and built Nineveh, or whether it was Nimrod that set out and founded the latter city; though this discussion has engaged some of the most learned pens that ever wrote, on one side or other. We incline to the former opinion; yet the point now in question is only that Ninus, the first distinguished monarch of Assyria, from whom Nineveh received its name, attacked and easily overran the neighbouring kingdom, or rather infant petty state of Babylon; but not satisfied, Ninus carried

* Connection of Sacred and Profane History, Vol. 1, B. 4, p. 200—202.

his arms eastward, to the country since called Bactria, a thousand miles eastward of Shinar; where he met with a power equal to his own, and fully able to defend itself against him. But if Ararat were in Armenia, and the emigration was from thence to Shinar, we have not only the insuperable difficulty how they could journey from the east, but also how, at so very early a period after the deluge, a powerful people able to withstand this early conqueror, could be met with in Bactria, or the country of the ancient *Sacae*, that is of the Scythians, or the *Saca-dwipa* of the Hindus. There is no other conceivable mode of accounting for such a circumstance, but from the inference that the Ararat, whereon the ark rested, was somewhere near that region; that the immediate descendants of Noah peopled it, himself residing near it in his own vineyard or garden; that the emigration was thence to Shinar, in an easterly direction; that when, after another emigration of part of the people to Nineveh, the latter kingdom acquired sufficient strength, by being addicted to war, to attack and overthrow the adjoining nation, found to be unprepared and feeble, it was checked on going further east, by an earlier population, of sufficient power to resist the hostile encroachments. These inferences are deduced from early records of other nations; but the Hindu records afford very considerable confirmation. In them nothing is more prominent than the wars between the *Surs* and *Assurs*. These indeed are made to be a sort of good and evil genii, different from mortals; but this is only consistent with the usual turn of Hindu invention. If we are right in our supposition, that the country of Hindustan was peopled direct from the seat of early population; and if this spread took place after the Assyrian incursions, and in any measure by reason of them; then it is every way likely that fabulous accounts would be handed down by the descendants of the *Surs*, and afterwards fixed in the shape of mythological legend and poetry. We may note, that the *Surs* are usually represented as virtuous and peaceably disposed, but afflicted by the *Assurs*, who are malignant and hostile. The *Assurs* seem to be the stronger; but the *Surs* are often benefitted and get the victory by interposition, deemed to be divine. If history is to be looked for from India of such assaults and repulses, who that is acquainted with the country and its languages would expect to find it in any other and plainer shape? Accordingly we conceive that the *Surs* are the earliest progenitors of the Hindus in another country; and the *Assurs*, their opponents and invaders from Assyria. If asked what that other country is? we should reply, it is not Armenia; but the *Saca-dwipa*, or country north-west of Himalaya; which we believe to have been the earliest cradle of the human race, in its renovation after the flood.

There is a consideration of some degree of weight, when taken with others, arising from the different character of early monarchies in the families of the dispersion at Babel, and in the descendants of those families supposed to have remained near the resting place of the ark, migrating subsequently into India and China. Among the former, as at Babylon, and the first rulers at Nineveh, in the earliest period in Egypt, in early Greece, and at the first foundation of Rome, monarchies were elective; and the strongest, the bravest, or the wisest, man was chosen to be king by the suffrages of the people, of which Dr. Shuckford gives a variety of proofs, and examples; whereas the early Indian and Chinese monarchies proceeded on a different principle, and were founded on a different basis; being of the paternal character, descending by right of primogeniture, and strictly despotic, though mildly so; the theory being that of the authority, respect, and influence of the father, or eldest born

son, over the whole family; and, in the largest sense, the whole people, being traceable to a common head, was the whole family. This remarkable principle, which never traced sovereignty (as in most other countries) originally to the suffrage or consent of the people, unquestionably obtained in the earliest ages in India, and always in China; we believe also in Eastern Tartary and Japan. To see the argument in its fuller force, the reader should follow the numerous instances of originally elective monarchies adduced by the very learned Dr. Shuckford,* as having existed among the western families of the dispersion, from Nimrod, Ninus, and Belus, down even to Romulus and his immediate successors. We may add, in confirmation of Dr. Shuckford's remarks from Diodorus Siculus, a fact not mentioned by him, which is, that the right of primogeniture descended to the eldest son of the second brother, if his son were born before the eldest son of the eldest brother.†—This argument however is of the auxiliary kind, and no more.

Let us now pay some attention to the deduction to be fairly, and we believe inevitably, made from the investigations instituted by Sir W. Jones into the origin of families and nations. In a series of anniversary discourses before the Asiatic Society he undertook, with the exertion of all his peculiar powers and qualifications, to ascertain into how many primary stocks the original families of the earth could have been divided; and, after a long and arduous inquiry, detailed step by step, he concluded that there were only three discoverable: appealing to any one to controvert his arguments and inferences, and announcing his own moral certainty of the general results. No one could be better qualified for such an inquiry, owing to his very extensive knowledge of languages, and to his judicial habits accustoming him to look through sophistry, to receive only evidence as testimony, and to yield his judgment to evidence alone. Happily for mankind, he who in early life set out, perhaps to some extent, a sceptic, was guided by these rules; by strong natural powers; and we believe, in some places, by an overruling influence from above; until he came at last to write concerning the Hebrew Scriptures, in a way that would not be entirely unsuitable to a Christian divine of first rate acquirements. Now, besides drawing from this, *a posteriori*, process of argument the strongest conclusions in favor of the Mosaic account generally, and more particularly of the three children of Noah and their families, he condenses the whole argument into an inquiry as to the place whence these three families first disparted; and he shews from arguments, not capable of condensation here, but which all who doubt may consult at length,‡ that the only country which coincides with all indications is, in his view, the country of Iran, or Persia; whence, as from a common centre, all the primitive families might have diverged to their several subsequent locations, while from no other country could they have so diverged without natural impossibilities, and the strongest opposing evidence being encountered. We confess that sometimes, in minor points, his chain of argument might be strengthened, and that all his data do not fully appear; nor do they all appear to be incontrovertible: but so much he admits, asks for confidence in his impartiality, and leaves minor points open; but urges the strength of the main conclusions; and to

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* Connections, B. 6. *et alibi*. † See vol. 1, p. 223.

‡ See Anniversary Discourses *passim*; and especially the 6th and 9th.

us these, with some variations and exceptions, appear irrefragable. We ask only a few more degrees of northern latitude, which may be granted without disturbing any one essential position, and the grant will bring us to Bactria, or *Saca-dwipa,* and east of the Caspian Sea; being the region indicated by all previous inferences as the first location of mankind subsequent to the deluge; though the ark probably rested further to the eastward. If, after all, there remain any important difference between the conclusions of Sir W. Jones and ours, we believe it will turn on the sole point of *time;* as his inquiries, in the ascending series, stop at a period subsequent to our own.

We will now advert to Colonel Wilford. That he borrowed, and sometimes largely, from the learned work of Dr. Shuckford, we think we have seen sufficient evidence to conjecture. However, what we have to do with are facts and arguments. And we must premise our opinion, that the notion which seems to have been usually entertained of the site of Eden, and the site of the first location of man after the deluge, being one and the same is fallacious. Colonel Wilford is not the only person who seems to have taken this idea for granted, without evidence or examination. But we know of no evidence of the kind. The situation of Eden we consider to have been* in Armenia, and the first location after the flood not there. We know so little of antediluvian history as not to be certain with regard to the exact residence of Noah before the flood; but it does not seem likely that such a machine as the ark should have continued, during the whole period of its sojourn on the waters, precisely over one spot; we rather think, on the contrary, that it must of necessity have been propelled to some distance in one direction, or possibly in different directions, at different times: and supposing, for argument sake, that it might have been built in the country since called Armenia, it is not too much to suppose that it floated so far as the Himalaya mountains; the loftiest in Asia, and therefore the first to emerge out of the waters. However these suppositions are perfectly unimportant—as much so as the starting point of the ark's voyage—with regard to the place of its resting; which is the only point of consequence. We make these remarks chiefly because Colonel Wilford, in his usual manner, jumbles together Eden and Ararat, *Swambhuva,* or Adam, with *Satyavrata,* or Noah, and the flaming sword of the cherubim, with *Garudha,* or the kite-vehicle of *Vishnu,* and eagle of Jupiter, all in a breath;† and with no very great reason. We almost consider a proposition disgraced which he maintains: however, discrimination must be exercised; and the position regarding the location of mankind we believe is too strong to be much affected by his arguments or opinions either way. If he fell in with the conclusion which is consistent with truth, we suppose it was not entirely by accident, but guided by some reasons; and when we find the talented Editor of Calmet's Dictionary investigating into them, and declaring his conviction of their correctness, they must be admitted to have some force. As to any antediluvian researches of Colonel Wilford, we dismiss them at once; the detected forgeries of his *Pandit* render such a course necessary. Those forgeries are no where more visible to the reader than in supposed antediluvian fragments; put together in reality, according to order, at Benares. But in matters subsequent to the deluge, we believe a discriminating eye

* See vol. 1, p. p. 166, 167. † As. Res. vol. 6.

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may distinguish some that are true. We admit therefore that Colonel Wilford has placed the site of early population after the flood in the mountainous district of Cashgar, further eastward than we are inclined to do ourselves; but then we add, that if the position had not stronger support than is afforded by Colonel Wilford, it would not, by us at least, be advanced *or* supported.

Let it however be observed, that Hindu books, of unquestionable and unsuspected authenticity, make the ark of *Satyavrata*, or Noah, to have rested on the mountains called (இமாவுதீ) *Imaut;* and other books treat of Himalaya in particular as eminently sacred. Now, in maps of ancient geography, we find one range of mountains called *Emodi-montes*, and another *Mons Imaus;* the latter dividing *Scythia intra Imaum* from *Scythia extra Imaum;* and the former ranging further to the south-east. We suspect the whole to be one common name; and that the north-western *Imaus* is the one intended by Hindu authorities. The identical mountain where the ark rested, we consider to be the subsequently celebrated *Meru*, or navel of the world; around which the various *dwipas* are represented, by infant geographers, as spreading in concentric circles: this mountain is probably that one known to the Chinese as " the Celestial Mountain,"* and is, also, we conceive, the true *Kailasa* of the Hindus. Fix the precise site of the *Imaut* mountain, where the ark rested, on the Himalaya peaks, the loftiest in the world, or any where else, as in Scythia; and let that be taken as the *Meru* of the Hindus, and then their fables about this mountain become at once intelligible. Here we may note, in passing, that in so far as the remarks of M. Bailly on the site of early population, discreetly taken, go towards fixing the first location of mankind in Scythia, they weigh in favor of the position already laid down; and which is, we think, nearly proved.

It migh[illegible]rhaps be thought a defect, if we were to omit at least a passing notice as to [illegible], by some, supposed claim of Apamea, in Phrygia, to be the resting place of the ark. The claim however is founded only on commemorative medals; some of them thought to be spurious. The best attested was struck in honor of Adrian, the Roman emperor; and it would be futile to rest on such a modern testimonial the slightest weight, beyond its intention as a mere commemoration; without limiting the occurrence to that particular place or country.

We have now gone through what we had to offer on the earliest location of mankind after the flood. The subject is not one of speculation alone; since it bears on a correct interpretation of Scripture, and on some obscure points in very early history. With no desire to accomplish, but that of searching for truth, we leave the question to the judgment and candor of our readers; and if they decide the point against us and our authorities, we shall yield them all the praise of an unbiassed opinion, and lament the fallibility and error of our own judgment. Let it only be observed, that we have consulted brevity rather than detail; and, that some of the arguments employed are capable of more extensive amplification.

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* M. de Guignes, quoted by Sir W. Jones, Works, vol. 3.—Fifth Anniversary Discourse.

B.

DESCRIPTION OF KAILASA AND VAICONTHA.

(Referred to vol. 1, p.p. 127, 130, 131.)

On the summit of the mountain *Kailasa*, which rises above seven inferior hills, resides *Isvaren*, with five faces, ten hands, and fifteen eyes.

The detail of the three eyes to each head is the following:—

The right eye is *Chandra-Bagavan*, (the moon,) with sixteen (daily) degrees of increase.

The left eye is *Surya-Bagavan*, (the sun,) possessing a thousand rays.

The centre eye is that situated on the middle of the forehead, which, in the time of the deluge, dries and burns up all the world.

In this manner to five heads there are three eyes; in all fifteen eyes.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE FIVE HEADS BELONGING TO THIS SATHA-SIVEN (OR ETERNAL SIVEN).

In the middle is a head, with the form of the firmament, or visible heavens.

On the right side of this middle head is *Brahma*.

Next is a head with the form of *Rudra* (the destroyer).

Opposite, on the left side, is a head having the form of *Vishnu*.

And next to this last is a head having the form of *Isvaren*.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CROWN WHICH COVERS THE AFORESAID FIVE HEADS, HAVING FIVE FACES.

One crown made of *Chintamani*, and *Naga*-gems, with the rest of the nine jewels.

Within this crown is *Ganga* and the Moon, having two measures, (increasing and decreasing).

This *Satha-Siven* has the epithet of *Nila-Kanden*, (or blue-throated,) because when the gods and *assuras* prepared the *amrita*, he swallowed the black and baleful poison (of the serpent *Vasuvi*).

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIVE HANDS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THIS SIVEN.

In the first right hand is the treble *Sulam*, (or trident).

In the second hand is the goddess-formed *Parasi*, (a kind of spear).

In the third hand is the celebrated weapon. (No name.)

In the fourth hand is the *Vajra*, (or a kind of sword).

In the fifth hand, the god *agni*, (that is, fire).

ON THE LEFT SIDE,

In the first hand, a serpent for a weapon.

கயிலாசகிரிபறுபதததில யெழுதாழுவரைககுமேலே உச்சஸ்தானததில பஞசமு
கததுடனே பததுககையயும் பதினஞசுகண ணுமாயிருககப்பட்ட இசுபரனுககுஒருசிர்
சுஒண ணுககுமூனறுகண ணுககுவயனம்.வலதுகண்சநதிரபகவான்பூா ணகலையோடெ
கூடினசநதிரபகவானகண் -க- இடதுகண்சூரியபகவான ஆயிரம்கிரணததுடனெகூடின
கண் -க- சகலபிறபஞசததையும்மகாப்பிறளையகாலததில தெகியானெனறுயிருககப்ப
டட நெததிககண் -க- இநதப்படிககிஅஞசுசிர்சுககும்கண் -ரு- அநதசதாசிவருக்கு
அஞசுசிர்சுககுவயனம்.நடுவிலிருககுறசிர்சு ஆகாச்சுரூபமாக இருககப்பட்டசிர்சு -க- அ
நதசிர்சுககுவலதுபிறம்பிரமதேவசரூபமாக இருககப்பட்டசிர்சு -க- ருததிரசூரூபமாக
இருககுறசிர்சு -க- அடுதத இடதுபிறததிலவிடடுணு சுரூபமாக இருககுறசிர்சு -க- அநதச்
சிர்சுககுஅடுததசிர்சு இசுரசுரூபமாகச்சிர்சு -க- ஆக இநதப்படிககு அஞசுசிர்சுடனெயு
ம்அஞசுமுகததுடனெயும்கூடியிருககுற சதாசிவருடைய சிர்சுமெலெஇருக்கப்பட்டகி
ரீடததுககுவயனம்சிநதாமணி ஞகாததின முதலாயிருககப்பட்ட நவரறதினததினுலே
கிரீடம்அநதக்கிரீடததுககுளளெ இருக்கிற சடையிலே கெஙகையும்இரணடுகலையுடனே
கூடி இருககிற சநதிரனையும் தரிததிருககுறுர். அநதச்சதாசிவருககு தேவா அசுராளஅ
முறதமதனம்பணணுகுறபோது சகலபிறவஞசததையும் தெகிககுறதாயிருககிறகாளகூ
டவிசததைப்பானம் பணணின படியினுலேயும் கழுததிலககறுப்பாயிருககிற படியினு
லேயும்நீலகணடனெனனும்பேர் அநத இசுரனுககுவலதுகை அஞசுககும் வயனம்வலது
புறமுதககையயிலேமூணுகுணததுடனேகூடினசூலாயிதம் -க- இரணடாஙகயயிலேச
விததிரூபமாக இருககிற பரசுஒண ணுமூணுஙகயயிலபிறதாபததை உடைததாயிருககு
றஆயிதம் ஒண ணு ஞலாஙகயயிலவச்சிராயிதம்ஒண ணு அஞசாஙகயயில அககினிபகவானை
ஆயிதமாகவைததிருககுறுர்.இடதுபிறததிலமுதககையயிலஞகாயிதம்ஒண ணு இரணடா
மிஙகையயில சகலபாவததையும்போககடிககுறகறமமாகுறஆயிதம்ஒண ணுமூணுஙகய
லமணியாகுறஆயிதம்ஒண ணு நாலாஙகயயிலசகலபிறவஞசததையும்லடகிககுறதாயிரு
ககுற அபையப்பிறசாதம்கொடுககிறகைஒண ணு அஞசாஙகயயில அங்குசததை உடைத
தாயிருக்கிறகை -க- இநதப்படிககுப்பததுகையுடனேகூடிஇருககுறஅநதச்சதாசிவரு
டையமார்புவாயவுசுரூபமாக இருககுறதுமார்புககுககீளேமேலவயறுருததிரசுரூபமா
கஇருககிறதுகீளவயததிலேசகலபிறவஞசமும்சகல அணடமும்விஷடடுணு சுரூபமாக
வும் சிவரூபமாகவும்இருககுது இடுப்புககுக கீளேபாதம்வரைககும்பிரமதேவர்பூமி
சொருபமாக இருககுறுர் இநதச் சிதாசிவரிருககப் பட்டசிஙகாசனததினுடகால ஞலு
ம்ஞலுவேதம்அநதஞலுகாலுககுளளே சுவாமிககுஇடதுபிறமாக இருககிறவளபாரசத
திசூரூபமாக இருககிறபார்பதி அம்மன -க- ஞலுகாலுககுவெளியிலசததிரூபமாக இரு
ககப்பட்டஅட்டகனனிகைகள -அ- மனொனமணியாக இருககப்பட்டகனனிகையள -க
ஆக -௯- கனனிகையமும்சுவாமிஅம்மனிடததிலபிரியாமலககாததிருககுறபேர்களஅ

In the second hand is the ceremony which removes all sins, for a weapon.

In the third hand is the instrument called *mani*, (a bell).

In the fourth hand is the blessing which preserves the world.

In the fifth hand is the weapon *angusam*, (or hook for driving elephants).

On the breast of this *Satha-Siven*, thus possessing ten hands, is *Vaivu* (the wind).

On the seat of the stomach is *Rudra*.

On the seat of the abdomen is the universal *Vishnu*, and also *Siven*.

From the hips down to the feet is *Brahma*, having the form of the earth.

The four feet of the throne of this *Satha-Siven* are the four *Vedas*.

In the midst of these four feet, and on the left side, is a *Parvati*, having the form of the consort of the heavenly one.

On the outside of these four feet are the eight virgins who attend.

Also three virgins having the name of *Manon-mani*.

These eleven virgins attend on the god and goddess without intermission.

At the foot of the throne are the twelve bulls, having the form of spiritual warriors.

On the left side of *Siven*, near the door of the temple, is *Subraminiyen*, mounted on the peacock vehicle. He has four attendants.

The wall round the throne has four *gobrams* (or towers)—on the four corners are four *budas*, (a kind of demons).

On the first step of the throne are eleven destroying angels.

On the second step are many devotees, equal to *Panchali-Bagavan*, who, some with their wives, and some fasting, wait to see the god having the form of the *lingam*, when he walks or dances.

On the third step are many *rishis*, with plaited hair rolled up, who have come from their stations of penance in *Taraca-vana* to worship and behold the god.

On the fourth step are *Rachsashas*, as *Elephant-mouth*, *Lion-mouth*, *Ravana*, and others: also *Venaigen*, *Subraminiyen*, *Vira-Bhadhra*—these all do penance.

On the fifth step is *Brahma* with five heads, with *Indra* and other lords; who dance or perform severe meditation.

On the sixth step are those who sing hymns in praise of the god; and those who blow trombones, and other such-like instruments; those who beat kettle-drums; those who wave fans; those who carry warlike arms; with many *Chakraverti* kings: who all wait to lay hold on the sacred *lotos* feet of the deity, (that is to obtain immortal happiness).

On the seventh step is the elephant that is named *Airavata*, and the horse named *Uchi-irchvam*, the unicorn *rishis*, two-headed *rudras*, and four-legged monkeys; with those beings that have four legs and eight hands, who are the troops or army of the god. These fan the four-handed *Siven* on the left and right side of his throne.

On the right side of the god, *Nareda* and *Aya-cripan* play on the *vina*, or lute; near to these and behind, three female *Gandharvas* bring *Parijatam* flowers, and do homage to *Nareda*. Further behind, *Vairaven* is seated on the vehicle shaped like a dog.

On the right hand tower, on the right hand side, are the one-legged and the two-legged individuals, who perform penance. Near to this is the *Chandra-pushpa* tank; on the

ர்த்தப்பீடத்தடியிலனுபிறத்திலெயும்ஞானவயிராககியசுரூபங்களாகஇருககிறகாளைய
ள-௰௨-சதாசிவருககுஇடதுபிறததிலகோபுரவாசலககிட்டமயிலவாகனததுடனேசுப்
பிறமணியசுவாமி இருககிறார் அவருககுப்பரிசாரகாளனு சதாசிவருடைய வாசல-௪
ககுகோபுரம்-௪-மூலைனுலுககுப்பூதம் -௪- அநதச்சாதாசிவருடையபீடததுககுஅடு
ததமுதலததட்டிலஇருககிறபதினொருபேர் யெகாதிசருததிராள இரணடாநதட்டிலசு
வாமிசனனிதியிலலிஙகசுருபமாக இருககிறபகவானநடனிர்தனம்பணணுகிறகாலததில்
அவர் வர்பத்தாள் அவர்வர்கடகினததுடனேதிறியழுடனெயும் பெஙகழுடனெபிதஞ்
சசவிபகவானமுதலாயிருககிற பக்ததாளெலலாம்தெரிசினததுககுவநதுகாததுககொ
ணடிருககிறார்கள மூணுநதட்டில தாருகாவனததில இருககிற சகலமானரிஷி ஈசுராழும்
பாறகும்படியாயசடாமணடலஙகழுடனெகூடநிறததனம்பணணிததெரிசினம்பண
ணிககொணடிருககுறார்கள.நாலாநதட்டில கெசவததிறனசிஙகவததிறனராவணனமுத
லாயிருககிறராடசதாழும்விநயகனசுப்பிறமணியசுவாமிவீரபததிரன்முதலாயிருககிற
பேரெலலாநதவசுபணணுகுறார்கள அஞசாநதட்டிலபஞசமுகததுடனேகூடியிருககு
றபஞசப்பிறமாவும்இந்திராதிகளாயிருககிறதேவதைகழும் நிறதனமபண்ணுகுற பே
ருமதியானமபணணுகுற பேருமாகஇருககுறார்கள ஆறாநதட்டிலசுவாமிககுசஙகீதககி
யானம்பணணுறபேருதிருச்சினணமுதலானவாததியம் பணிமாறுகிற பேரும்தாளம
போடுகிறபேரும்வீசசறிவீசுகிறபேரும்ஆயிதஙகளவைததுககொணடுஇருககிறபேரு
ம்அனெகசககிறவறததிகளெலலாம்சுவாமிபாதார்விநததிலேஅடையும்படிககுதியா
னம்பணணிக்கொணடுஇருக்குறார்களயேழாநதட்டிலஅயிராபதமெனகிறஆனை-௨-உ
ச்சையிச்சிர்வம்யெனகிறகுதிரை-௨-கொம்புடனேஇருக்கிறரிசியளசிரஙளமுதலாயிரு
ககிறகெசவருததிராள முதலாயிருக்கிற கபிமுகாளசதுறப் பாதியளயெடடுப்பாதம்னு
லுகையெடடுக்கையோடே கூடிக்கொணடுஇருக்கிற பேர்அவர் சேவகாளசுவாமிபீட
ததிக்குவலதுபிறததிலும்யிடதுபிறததிலும்பரமசிவனும்னுலுகையுடனே ஆகாசமாற
க்கததிலிருநது கொணடு சாமரம்வீசுகிறார்கள சுவாமிக்கு வலதுபிறம் நார்தரும்அயக்கி
ரீபனுமவீணாகானம்பண்ணுகுறார்களஅவர்கழுக்கடுததபினபுறம்கெநதருபஸ்ததிறிய
ளமூணுபேருபாரிசாதபுடபம்கொணடுவநதுநார்தனைப்பூசை பணணுகுறாளஅதற
குபினபிறம்சுவானவாகனததிலவயிரவனயேறிக்கொணடுஇருக்கிறார்வலதுபாகோ
புறததிக்குவலதுபிறம்யெகபாதி யெனறுநதுவிபாதியெனறும்இரணடுபேருதவ
சுபணணுகிறார்களஅடுததாப்போலே சநதிரபுஷறகாணி அதறகுவலது புறமகாவிஷட
டுணுவும்லடசுமியும்சஙகுசசாதாரியாயிருக்குறார்களஅடுததவலதுபிறததிலமூணுகறப
கிறவிருஷிததினநடுவிலேமூர்ததிகரிததிருக்கிற ஆதிசேஷனும்அதறகுவலதுபிறம்வியா
தியும்இருக்கிறார்களஅடுததகீளபிறம்யெகபாதிஉளறததமுகமாகததவசுபணணிக்கொ
ணடுஇருக்கிறார்அடுததகீளபிறம் அக்கினிகுணடலததிலகறபகவிருஷததின கீளேயெம
தர்மாராசாதவசுபணணிக்கொணடுஇருக்குறார்அதறகுவலதுபிறம்சொறணபுஷக்காணி

right side of which are *Maha-Vishnu*, with *Lakshmi*, bearing the *Chank* and *Chakram*. On their right hand, among three *Karpuga* trees, (which yield whatever is desired,) is *Athi-seshan*. On the right side of that, is the being with tiger-legs. Near, on the east side, is the one-legged being, looking up at the heavens while doing penance. Near to this, on the east side, beneath a *Karpuga* tree, and in the midst of a circle of fire, is *Yama-dherma-raja*, doing penance. On the right hand of this is *Sorna-pushcaranam*. On the east, are three *rishis*, doing penance beneath two *Karpuga* trees. To the east of that, *Urdu-bagu* and *Jambusta-bagu* do penance. To the east, on the bullock vehicle, is *Soma-suntira-murti*; and on the lion-vehicle is *Parvati*. At the base of this mountain is the god having the form of the *lingam*, worshipped by four holy *rishis*. There is also a *Karpuga* tree in the shape of a man, devoutly regarding the god. On the south side are two persons doing penance, by standing on one leg. Further south, beyond four *Karpuga* trees, are *Padma-patha*, a *rishi* and his three disciples, who are engaged in abstract devotion. To the west side are two *Karpuga* trees, beneath which *Kristna-verma*, a Bramin, is performing penance, standing on one leg. Further to the west, some swans devoutly contemplate the god. Again to the west, *Saya-nodanapatha* is performing penance, at the bottom of a fire-pit used for the *homa*, and beneath a *Karpuga* tree.

To the north, *Paratshaden* stands with his foot treading on a serpent, in the attitude called *Kalika-martana*. On the west, on the top of a *Karpuga* tree, *Sweta-vanga-rishi* is doing penance. On the neighbouring north side is *Sornapatha rishi*, fixed with his head upwards contemplating the heavens, doing penance on the point of a sharp spike. On the neighbouring north side, *Krishnaverma* and *Kanaka-rubi*, the *rishis* are engaged in contemplation, in the midst of two *Karpuga* trees, on the banks of a river; they are invested with the sacred beads, and rest the toe only of the right foot on the ground. (*Swetankutta-pathiyayi.*) To the west, *Lacshmi*, *Sarasvathi*, and *Parvati*, do penance. On the north, in the air above, two female *Gandharvas* bring *Senbuga* flowers, and scatter them down on the god.

THE FIRST VAICONTHA.

In *Vaicontha*, in the ocean of milk, in the midst of the seven seas, is the lord of all worlds, *Striman-Narrayana-murti*; reclining on the serpent *Athi-seshan*. At his feet are *Stri-devi* and *Bu-devi*, two female divinities. *Athi-seshan* has a thousand heads. In the *lotos* (arising out of the navel) of the god, is the five-headed *Brahma*, creating all things. Above, is *Maha-Vishnu*, the lord of the *Chank* and *Chakram*, as the preserver of the world. *Striman-Narrayana-murti* reposes in a jewelled *Sabha-mandabam*, (hall of assembly,) which is splendid with the radiance of ten millions of suns. To this *Vaicontha* there are seven outward enclosures: in the enclosure nearest to the last recess, beneath the feet, on the two sides are nine *Brahmas*, endued with nine species of perfections. At the feet of the god are twelve persons endued with surpassing wisdom; and possessing the *Sva-rubam* * (or

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* The four qualities of heaven are, *Sva logam*, the place or world; *Sva-mibam*, nearness to the deity; *Sva-rubam*, celestial form; *Sva-uchiyam* absorption into the essence of the divinity.

அதறகுக்கீளபிறம்ரிசிமீசுராளமூணுபேர்இர்ணடுகறபகவிருட்ஷததின கீளேஇருநது
தவசுபணணுகுருர்களஅதினகிளக்குஉளர்ததபாகுவர்ஒருதர் சம்புஷிதவாகுஒருதர்இர்
ணடுபேர்தவசுபணணுகிருள அதனகிளக்சேரிஷபவாகனததில்ச்சோமாசுகநதமூர்த
தியும்சிஙகவாகனததிலப்பார்பதிஅம்மனுமாகஇருக்குருர்கள அநதப்பருபதததுததா
ளவரையிலலிஙகாகிறுதியாயிருக்கிறசுவாமியைருஷிஈசுராளபூசைபணணுகிருர்கள
ஒருகறபகவிருச்சம்மனுசாகிறுததியாய் மூற்திகரிச்சுக் கொணடுசுவாமியைததெரிசின
ம்பணணுகிருன அதறகுததெனபுறம்யேகபாதியளாகஇர்ணடுபேர்தவசுபணணுகிருர்
களஅதறகுததெனபிறம்ஞலுகறபகவிருஷிடததுக்குஅப்பிறம்பறபாதாவெனறுஒருரி
ஷிஅவர்மூணுசீசாமுடனேதியானம்பணணிக்கொணடுஇருக்குருர் அதறக்குததெனப
றம்இர்ணடுகறபகவிருடஷிசம்இருக்குதுஅதறகுமேலபிறம்இர்ணடு கறபகவிருடஷததி
னகீலகுரிஷடடிணவறமா யெஙகிறபிராமணன யெகபாதியாகத்தவசு பணணிக்கொண
டுஇருக்குருர்அதறகுமேலபிறம்அம்மிசபடசியள வநது தெரிசினபணணுது அதறகு
மேறகுஒருகறபகவிருடஷததிலேஅக்கினிகுணடததினகீலேசயனேததானபாதர்தவ
சுபணணுகுருர்அதறகுவடக்குகாளிகாமறதனம்பணணிக்கொணடுபார்டசதனபாம்பி
ன்தலையில்க்காலவைத்துக்கொணடுஇருக்குருனஅதினமேறகுகறபகவிருடஷிததினமே
லே-சுவேத-பாஙகாரிசிதவசுபணணுகுருர்அடுததவடபிறம்.உளறதத பாகுவாயசுவற
னபாதரிசிஉளசிமேலேஅக்கினிகுணடததிலதவசுபணணுகிருர் அடுததவடபிறம்புஷிக்
கரணிக்கரையில இர்ணடுகறபகவிருடஷததின நடுவிலேகிறிஷிடடிணவறமா யெஙகிறரி
சியும்கனகரூபியெஙகிற ரிசியும்தியானம்பணணிக்கொணடு இருக்கிருர்கள சுவேதாங்கு
டடபாதியாய் ருததிராட்ஷ தாரியாய்த தவசுபணணிக் கொணடு இருக் கிருர்கள அதின
மேறகுலட்சுமிசர்சுவதிபார்பதிமூனறுபேருநதவசுபணணுகிருர்களஅதினவடக்குஆ
காசமாறகததிலஇர்ணடுகெநதருவஸ்ததிரியள செணபகப்பூக்கொணடுவநதுஈசுரனை
ததரிசினபணணுகிருகர்ள.

முதலாவதுவைகுணடம்வைகுணடததிலசீராப்பிஷிததியிலசததசமுததிர்மததியிலச
சலபுவனகர்ததாவாசிஇருக்கப்படடஸ்ரீமநாருயணமூறததிஆதிசெடனுகஇருக்கப்பட
டதெறபததினமேலேசயனம்பணணிக்கொணடுஇருக்கிருர்அவர்பாதார்விநதத்திலஸ்ரீ
தேவிபூதேவியெனறுஅம்மன - உ - அநதஆதிசெஷிசனுக்குசிர்சு - ௲ - அநதப்பகவானு
டையனுபிகமலததிலபஞுமுகம்பிறமாசகலபிறபஞசத்தையும்உறபததிபணணுகிருர்பிர
மதேவர் அதறகுமேலேசஙகைசக்கரபகவான லோகசமரொட்சணுற தமாக்மகா விட்டு
ணுஇருக்கிருர் அனெகங்கோடிசூரியப்பிறகாசமாயிருக்கிற இாறறினசபாமணடததில
இருக்கிருர்அநதவைகுணடததுக்கு யேழுபிறகாறம் அநதப்புறததுக்கு அடுததமுதல
ஸ்ரீமநாருயணமூறததிசயனம்பணணிக்கொணடுப்பிறகாறததிலபாததததுக்குக்கீளேஇ
ர்ணடுபுறமும்தவப்பிறசாதியாகப்பிரமதேவரிருக்கிறபேர் - ௬ - சுவாமிபாத ததிலசனக
சனநதையளாயிருக்கப்பட்ட சாரூபியளாயிருக்கப்படட அமுர்சையையுடைததாயிருக்
கப்படடபேர் - ௰உ - சுவாமிவட்க்குவாசலில துவாரபாலகாள - உ - அடுததமேலபிறததில

divine form). In the north entry to the god's presence are four door-keepers. On the neighbouring west side are two *rishis*, endued with heavenly piety, doing penance. Above, the wheel and club resplendently shine, being self-supported.

THE SECOND VAICONTHA.

To the left, on the southern side, the shell, the bow, the arrow, the sword and shield, resplendently shine, being self-supported.

In the southern entry there is one endued with heavenly piety, and the form of *Vishnu ;* holding the *Chank* and *Chakram.* Seven heavenly physicians wait at the entry. In the first enclosure are thirty-three *apsaras,* (or divine females). In the second enclosure are forty-one persons who continually worship the god, by prostrations of the body.

In the third enclosure are seventy-one divine *Bramins,* who are constantly engaged in repeating passages from the four *vedas.*

In the fourth enclosure are one hundred and eleven illustrious persons, entirely denuded of garments.

THIRD VAICONTHA.

In the fifth enclosure are the *Gandharvas,* and the shrine of *Indren.*

In the sixth enclosure are the *Karpuga* tree, two birds called *Gandaperandam,** peacocks, swans, *lotos* tanks with *lotos* flowers ; and in the sixth enclosure, on the side nearest to the god's presence, are *Garuden,* and six door-keepers bearing the *Chank* and *Chakram,* and two divine females holding fans.

In the seventh enclosure is the sea which produces fishes, with other living things, and the nine jewels— * *

Here the Manuscript has the appearance of breaking off abruptly, either from defect of invention or of inspiration : or perhaps the author's faculties

"—— strain'd to the higth
In that celestial colloquy sublime,
As with an object that excels the sense
Dazzled and spent, sunk down, and sought repair."

* Fabled to be so large as to be able to swallow elephants.

இர்ணடுரிசியீசுராளபர்மபததாளதவசுபணணிக்கொணடுஇருக்கிருர்களஅதினமேலே சக்கர்மும்கெதையுமூறததிகரிச்சுக்கொணடுஇருக்குது.

இர்ணடாவதுவைகுணடம்அதறகுஇடதுதெனபிறம்சஙகநதனுசுபாணங்கததிகே டையததுடனேஅதுகளமூறததிகரிச்சுக்கொணடு இருக்கிறதுதெறகுவாசவிலசஙகசக் காதாரியாய்பரம்பததாளாயவிஷ்டடுணுசொரூபமாயிருக்கிறபேர்-க-சததமருததுக் களாக்வாசலகாப்பார்-எ-முதலப்பிறகாரததிலஅப்சாததிரியள-௱௰௲-இர்ணடாம்பிற காரததிலசுவாமியைபிரார்ததிச்சுக்கொணடுசுருபாஙகிதமாய அறசினேபணணுகுறபே ர்-௲௰க-மூணும்பிறகாரததிலநாலுவேதஙகழுமபாராயணம்பணணிக்கொணடுஇருக்க ப்படடதேவப்பிராமணுள-எ௰௲-ுலாம்பிறகாரததிலதிறிதணடசனனியாசியளாக்இ ருக்க்ப்படடரிசியர்-௱௰க.

மூணுவதுவைகுணடம்அஞசாம்பிராகாரததிலகெநதுருவாழும்இநதிர்விவானமும் ஆரும்பிராகாாததிலகறபகவிருடஷமும்கெணடகொரணடபட்சியமும்மயூர்ஙகழும் அமுசஙகழும்தாமரைப்புஷபஙகழும்தெறபக்குளஙகழும் சனனிதிதானததிலஆரும்பி றகாரததிலகெருடபகவானும்துவாரபாலகாள்சஙகுசக்கிறஅவதாரியளாக்-௲-சாமாம் போடுகிறதேவகனனிகள-உ-யேழாம்பிறகாரததிலமச்சமுதலாயிருக்கிறநவாறறினங க்ழும்உறபததியாயிருக்க்ப்படடசததசமுததிர்மும்.

C.

THE PROVERBS, OR SENTENTIOUS SAYINGS, OF *ATHIVIRA-RAMEN.*

(Referred to vol. 2, p. 78.)

The poem entitled Vettiverkai, condescendingly made by Athivira-rama-Pandion.

They who lay aside their faults, and act according to the rules laid down by the conquering-spear-holding hand of *Athivira-ramen,* of the race of *Kulasegara,* will suffer no want.

He who explains literature is a lord.

The beauty * of learning is language without fault.

The beauty of the wealthy is to protect relatives.

The beauty of spiritual teachers is the *Vedam* and good morals.

The beauty of kings is to wield a righteous sceptre.

The beauty of merchants is to increase their capital.

The beauty of farmers is the desire to live by ploughing (or cultivation).

The beauty of ministers (of state) is clear foresight of events.

The beauty of feasting is hospitality.

The beauty of wives is not to contradict.

The beauty of a well-matched wife is to reverence her husband.

The beauty of mistresses is to ornament their persons.

The beauty of the learned is to repress ostentation.

The beauty of the poor is rectitude amidst privation.

The fruit of a palmyra tree, though it is large, yet when planted a tree arises which will not afford shade sufficient for a single person; but the seed of the banyan tree, though small as eggs in the roe of fishes, yet when planted grows up to be a tree so large as to afford shade sufficient for many elephants and ornamented cars, with their accompaniments of horses, and armies of men.

(Thus)—All those of lowly state are not little (in worth).

* அழகு Beauty, or ornament.

And all the great are not truly great (in true dignity).

All children are not truly children, (some are without filial piety).

All relatives are not truly relatives.

All wives are not true wives.

Cow's milk when boiled does not lose its flavour.

If gold be melted in the fire, it loses not its lustre.

Sandal-wood by grinding does not lose its perfume.

The black *akel*-wood by being burnt does not give a bad odour.

If the sea be stirred up it does not become muddy.

Greatness and lowliness (as regards rank in life) will each produce their respective fruits.

The small faults done by the lowly, the great are in duty bound to bear with, (or pardon.)

If lowly people commit great faults, it is very difficult for the great to bear with them.

To prosper is good, to prosper is good.

If the stupid be instructed for a hundred years, the instruction, like the green weed on the surface of water, will take no root.

If the great (in capacity) are taught only for a single day, their learning will be like a root penetrating the earth.

To study is good, to study is good.

It is good to study, even if we beg for a livelihood.

If an unlearned man boast of the dignity of his rank, (or caste,) he is to be compared to (பதர்) the empty husks found among rice-corn.

Among the four divisions of caste, if the highest be without learning, he is the lowest of all.

Let a learned man be of what class he may by birth, or in whatever state; yet, on seeing him, others will address him with politeness and attention.

The king will take pleasure in the intelligent (or well-informed).

Rather than have children void of sense, who know not how to render honor to those to whom it is due, it would be better for people to have no children.

(Brute) elephants (however great in size) give no presents or charity.

A cat has neither austere devotion, nor benevolence.

To* a wise man (a stoic) there is neither pleasure nor pain.

To a moth there is neither property nor dignity.

To an alligator there is neither swimming nor *remaining*. (Sense obscure).

The unlearned have neither veneration nor modesty.

To the sick, there are no niceties of times and seasons to be observed.

To the totally vicious there is neither friendship nor fear.

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* Literally rendered: the idiom is like the Latin, *est pro habeo.*

Neither prosperity nor adversity are unchangeable. Sometimes those who have rode for short distances on an elephant in royal state, have afterwards had to walk a great distance with sore feet.

Sometimes the splendid, and the rich, have had to beg the coarsest food from a charitable asylum.

Sometimes those who have publicly begged alms have held intercourse with kings, or ruled as princes.

Those who have heaped up gold like a little mountain, in that same day, have destroyed or dispersed the whole.

A house of seven stories in height, falling down, has become like a stable for buffalos.

Though there is a wide earth and heaven, common to all, yet to those who have no home it is all as if nothing.

Though the fierce elephant be large yet it dreads the little knotted bamboo rod.

The antler-headed deer, though dwelling in the wide hilly forest, yet fears the tiger.

The *terai*, (a kind of frog,) though it dwell in a deep pit, yet greatly fears the snake.

It is better to dwell in a forest, amidst fierce tigers, than in the country of kings, who sway a sceptre of violence.

Rather than dwell in an ancient country without rulers, it is better to live in the woods, among wild people who feed on honey.

To beg is the proper occupation of those who possess nothing.

To give to those who have nothing, is the duty of those who have.

Sometimes the gay ornaments of a bride are only put on in order immediately to embrace a dead corpse (on the funeral pile) with dishevelled hair.

When a waste land, feeding only cows and horses, becomes cultivated, by men and women dwelling on it, it often becomes fertile in corn.

One who has seed-corn and the plough in his hand, and yet is lazy, is chaff, (பதர் empty husks).

Those of the Braminical tribe who do not repeat the four *vedas* every morning and evening are chaff (worthless).

Those merchants who do not contrive to live on the interest only of their trading capital are chaff.

The idiot who sends his own wife back to her mother's house, and afterwards does not go to see her, is chaff.

The idiot who leaves his own wife at home, and seeks familiarity with his neighbour's wife, is chaff.

The idiot who gives up his weapons, and his money, into the hand of another is chaff.

If any one speak as loud as the beating of a drum, and bites his tongue, through haste (or anger), listen to him with politeness.

One who declares a lie, by his manner of doing it, seems really to speak the truth.

One who declares the truth, by his incapacity of speech, appears really to announce falsehood.

Hence, any king who does not hear both parties seven times, and judge according to a right statement of the case, transgresses the law of *Menu*.

The tears (of the oppressed) which gush out from a deep source of grief, even though gods or the *Trimurti* itself, were the judges, would be for ever as the cutting of a saw.

Never so speak as wrongfully to inculpate others.

Enter not a torrent in which there are whirlpools. (Law suits seem designed).

Do not go on a distant journey alone, (or without suitable aid).

Do not go on an extensive water without a *puni*, (canoe, or *catamaran.*)

Do not associate with insnaring females of powerful attractions, without giving largesses.

Go straight on thy way. And in that way return.

Behold! these precepts point out the proper path in this world.

It is perhaps superfluous to remark, that these sayings are those of a heathen prince: consequently may be expected to contain some things good and right, and others that are defective or wrong. It is not improbable that they may have been taken down in substance from his mouth as he sat in public to dispense justice; being polished and reduced to poetical measure afterwards, by some of the attendant poets of his court. The translation is made from the printed text of *Sarvana Perumal*, of Madras.

D.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

(TRANSLATIONS.)

In the early times, when many *Pandion* kings reigned, the rulers of the Tamil country divided it into the *Soren*, *Sera*, and *Pandion* kingdoms; and settled the bounds of their respective dominions: of which boundaries the following is a detail.

VERSES CONCERNING BOUNDARIES.

VENPA.—A Stanza by Avyar.

வெளளாறறினறெற்கு மேறகுப்பெருவெளியா - ம்
தெளளாம்புனற்கனனிதெறகாகும்—உளளா - ன்
ஆயநதகடற்கிழககன்பதத றுகாத - - - ம்
பாணடிநாடடெலகைப்ப - - - - தி

To the south of the river *Vellar*, to the west is *Peruveli*, to the south is Cape Comorin, on the east is the sea: to the extent of fifty-six *kadams* (560 miles) is the *Pandion's* kingdom.

VENPA.—A Stanza by Vembaturar.

வெளளாறறின்றெற்கு வெள்குமரிக்கேவடக் - கு
தெளளுகட்லின்மெற்குதேவர் தொழுமம—உளள்மகி ழ்
வணஞசிபேருரதின்கிழககுமாறனெல - - கை
யன்பத்தறுகாதமா - - - - - - ம்

South of the river *Vellar*, north of Cape Comorin, west of the sea, east of the large town called *Vanasi*,* fifty-six *kadams*, is the *Maran* (or *Pandion's*) kingdom.

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* Supposed to be the same as the *Banavasi* of Ptolemy.

VENPA.—Stanza by Pugerenthi, the poet who was retained in the palace of the Pandion king.

வெளளாறறினறெற்காகுமேறகுப்பேருவெளியா - ம்
தெளளாபுனற்குமரிதெறகெலகை—விளளா - கு
நாடடுககுநாயகனூர்நற்புனவைநாதனு - - ர்
கூடடததிருமதிளகீட்கூ - - - - - று

South of the river *Vellar*, on the west is *Peruvali*, the water round Cape Comorin to the south, is, by the consent of all, the dominion of the prince of the country.

BOUNDARIES OF THE SOREN KINGDOM.

VENPA.—Stanza by Avyar.

கடலகிழககுதெற்குகரைபொருவெளளா - - று
குடதிசைககுககோடடைககரையாம்—வடதிசைக கு
யெனுடடுபபெணணையிருபததுநாற்காத - - ம்
சொள்நாடடெடலகையென்சசொ - - - ல்

East as far as the sea, to the south as far as the *Vellar*, to the west as far as *Cotta-Karei*, as far as the *Penniyar* (river) of the *Yenad* (country) to the north, to the extent of twenty-four *kadams* (240 miles), are the boundaries of the *Soren* kingdom.

VENPA.—Stanza by Pugerenthi.

கடலகிழககுதெறகுகரைபுரளும்வெளளா - - று
குட்திசைககுககோடடைககரையாம—வடதிசைக - கு
ஈளமுதலாயிருபததுநாறகாத - - - ம்
சோழநாடடெடலகையென்சசொ - - - ல்

The sea to the east, to the south the *Vellar*, to the west *Cotta-Karei*, to the north as far as *Ila*, being twenty-four *kadams*, is the boundary of the *Soren* country.

BOUNDARIES OF THE SERA COUNTRY.

VENPA.—Supposed to be by Avyar.

வடககுததலமபழ்ணிவாழ்கிழககுசசெஙகோ - - டு
குடதிசைககுககோழிககூடாகும்—கடற்கரை - யி
ஞோமதுதெறகாகுமோரெணபதிஙகாத - - ஞ்
சேர்நாடடெடலகையென்சசெப - - - - பு

The northernmost place is *Pazhani*, (*vulgo*, Pyney,) the most eastern is *Chengodu*, (Trichengude), the most western is *Kozhikudu*, on the south is the shore of the sea, in all eighty *kadams* (800 miles), is called the boundary of the *Sera* country.

VENPA.—Stanza by Avyar.

வடககுததலமபழணிவான்கிளககுததெனகா - சி
குடதிசைகொளிககூடாகும—கடற்கரை - - யி
ஞோமதுதெறகாகுமோரொண்பதிஙகாத - - ரு
சேர்நாடடெலலையெனசசெப - - - பு

The northernmost place is *Pazhani*, to the south is the southern *Casi*, to the west, is *Kolikudu*, the sea shore on the south, is called the boundary of the *Sera* kingdom.

VENPA.—An ancient Stanza by an unknown writer.

மூசறுவணடுமூழுமபசுநதொஙக - - - ற்
பாசறுகொணடபகீர்திககு—வாச - - - த்
தொடையெடுபபான்சோழன்றுகிலெடுபபான்சேர ன்
குடையெடுபபான்கொறகையாகோ - - - ன்

To the sea, which has flowers inhabited by the humming-bees, he who brings scented flowers is the *Soren;* he who brings garments is the *Seren;* he who brings the umbrella is the king of *Korkhi,* (or Madura).

[The allusion is to the custom of bringing presents once a year, putting them on a brass-plate, and launching them into the sea, as a sort of homage to its imaginary deity *Varunen.* The custom, under some modifications, is still said to be followed by private individuals in different places.]

The following, not being poetry or extracts, is presumed to belong to *Mirtanjeya-Pattar.*

THE FOUR BOUNDARIES OF THE PANDION KINGDOM.

South of the *Vellar*, east of *Perur*, north of Cape Comorin, west of the eastern sea; from east to west twenty-eight *kadams*, south to north twenty-eight *kadams*, making together fifty-six *kadams.* Its yearly revenues, ten millions of *chakrams.*

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SOREN COUNTRY.

To the east the sea, on the south the *Vellar*, on the west *Cottei-Karei*, on the north *Izham* (or *Ilam*); from east to west twelve *kadams*, from south to north twelve *kadams;* making together twenty-four *kadams.* Its revenue, ten millions of gold *pons.*

BOUNDARIES OF THE SERA COUNTRY.

On the north *Pazhani*, to the east the great town (or *Perur*), on the south the sea, on the west the great mountain; from east to west forty *kadams*, from south to north forty *kadams*, making together eighty *kadams.* Its revenue ten millions of *pattans,* of which four make a *cali-pon.*

The particulars of the foregoing things are engraven on stones, which are fixed in a wall to the east of the shrine of *Cabali* (a name of *Siven*).

The account of the land revenues of the *Pandion* country, arising from cultivation, were taken away during the times of disturbance.

BOUNDARIES OF THE TAMIL COUNTRY.

Pavanandi in the *Nannul*, (a work on grammar,) written by him, says—

குணகடலகுமரிகுட்கம்வெஙகட - - - ம்
எனநான்கெலலைகயினிருநதமிழ்ககட்லு - - ள்

Its meaning is this:—The eastern boundary is the east sea, the southern boundary is Cape Comorin, the western boundary is the west sea, the northern boundary is *Tripeti*.

Within these four boundaries are included the *Tonda-mandalam, Nadu-Nadu, Sora-desam, Pandiya-desam, Sera-desam, Kongana-desam;* and the whole of these being taken together, form what is called the *Dravida* country.

The principal town or metropolis of the *Pandion* country is Madura; the principal mountain is the great hill called *Potheiya;* the name of the king's horse is *Gana-vattam;* the chief rivers are the *Tembaraveni* and *Vegavathai.* The king's distinctive garland is made from flowers of the *veppa* tree; the device of his banner is a fish: his descent is from the lunar pedigree.

The metropolis of the *Sora* country is *Uriyur;* its principal mountains are *Coli* and *Neri;* its chief river is the Cauvery; the name of the king's horse is *Goram.* His distinctive garland is the flower of the *atti* tree. The device on his banner is a tiger. He is of the solar pedigree.

The metropolis of the *Sera* country is *Tiru-Vanasi-Kalam;* the name of the king's horse is *Padalam;* the king's distinctive garland is the flower of the *panna* tree. The chief rivers are the *Tembaraveni* and the *Purani.* The device on the king's banner is a bow. He is of the *agni-kulam,* (or fire-race).

The poets of the *Soren* country have sung as follows:—

கோர்தததுகசொபபோகனவடடம்ம்மா - - னே
கூறுவ்துஙகாவிரிககுவைகைகயோவமமா - - னே
ஆருககுவேமபுநிகராகுமொவமமா - - னே
ஆதிததனுககுநிகர்மபுவியோவமமா - - னே
வீர்ககுநிகராகமீனவஞ்ஞவமமா - - - னே
வெறறிபபுலிககொடிககுமீனமொவமமா - - னே
உளரிறபுகாதனசககுககொறகையோவமமா - - னே
ஒககுமோசோழனுககுபபாணடியனகாணமமா னே

O lady, the *Gana-vattam* does not equal *Goram.*
The *Vaigai* is not to be compared to the *Caveri,*
The *Veppa* garland is not equal to that of *atti* flowers.
The lunar descent does not equal that of the sun.

Does the fish-banner* king equal the brave?
Is the fish-banner equal to that of the tiger?
Korkhi (Madura) is not equal to *(Uriyur)* the town of praise.
The *Pandion* is not to be compared to the *Soren*.

The two brothers, named *Irattiyar*, have sung in favor of the *Pandion*, as follows:—

குறுமுனிவனகொலலியிலோதமிழ்பிறநததமமா   னே
ஒபபரியதிருவிளையாடடுறையூரோவமமா - னே
திருநெடுமாலவதாரஞசிறுபுலியோவமமா - னே
சிவனமுடிமேலணிவதுவுஞசெஙகதிரோவமமா   னே
கரையழிநதகாவிரியோவரைதெரிநததமமா - னே
கடிபபகைககுவேமபோகடுகைகயோவமமா - னே
பரவைபடிநததிருஞசோழனபதநதனிலோவமமா   னே
பராககிரமபாணடியனபுகழைபபகொளிதோவமமானே

O lady, the Tamil language of *Agastyar* was not born from *Coli* (but from *Potheiya*).
The sixty-four *Tiruvilliadels* did not take place in *Uriyur*.
The *Nedu-mal* (*Vishnu*) was never born as a tiger.
Is the sun fixed on the top of *Siva's* crown of hair?
The bank-destroying *Caveri* never saw any writing ascend up against the stream.
The *Atti* garland is not so heroic as that of the *Veppa* flower.
Did the sea ever submit at the feet of the *Soren*?
Is the praise of the heroic *Pandions* a light thing?

[If not deeply tinctured with mythological belief, it will perhaps be acknowledged by the reader, that the *Soren* panegyrists have the best of it. He will remember that *Agastyar*, the father of the Tamil language, lived on *Potheiya* mountain; that *Vishnu* was, *a ce qu'on dit*, incarnate as a fish; that *Siva* is represented as wearing the crescent in his tuft of hair, the *Pandion* being also of the lunar pedigree; that a writing was said to ascend the *Vaigai*, in the time of *Kuna-Pandion;* that the sea submitted to *Ukrama-Pandion* (See 13th *Tiruvilliadel):* and he may need to be informed, that when a troop of Hindu warriors put on a *Veppa* garland, they thereby made a public vow to conquer or die.]

THE MEASURE OF THE SEA AND WORLD.

The extent of the earth from east to west is one hundred thousand *yojanas*.† From south to north is one hundred thousand *yojanas*. To the east, and west, and south, and north of those boundaries, is a hundred thousand times a hundred thousand *yojanas*.

In the midst of this (earth) is the mountain *Maha-meru*. On the south of *Maha-meru* are nine continents. In this earth the *Malayala* country is not included: that was produced

* Or fish-catching king.   † A *yojanei* is said to be 13¼ English miles.

by *Parasu-Ramen.* A great part of the *Malayala* country is rude and mountainous: the deity of that portion is *Subraminiyen.* Some part of the country is alkaline and desert, producing nothing: the deity of this portion is *Cali.* Some part is woody, inhabited by herdsmen: the deity is *Vishnu.* Some part is fertile, and intersected by rivers: the deity is *Indren.* Some part is salt, sandy, and barren: the deity is *Varunen.*

[This division of the soil of a country is presumed to be common and popular. There is a stanza current, which is either the same division or very similar; as follows:—

காடாகுமுலலை-கழிநெயதலாகுஙகலலஙகுறிஞ - சி
நாடாமருதநடலை-வெமபாலையிணஞடடிறறெயவ - ங
கோடாசரன்-வருணனகுகனிநதிரானகூறுதற - - கை
மாடாயர்மீனர்குறவருழவாமறவர்க - - - ளே

Of which the meaning is:—

The forest is thorny ground, its inhabitants herdsmen, its deity *Krishna.*
The sea-shore is salt ground, its inhabitants fishermen, its deity *Varunen.*
The mountain is bleak, its inhabitants are *Kuruver*, its deity *Subraminiyen.*
The level country is fertile, its inhabitants are ploughmen, its deity *Indren.*
The barren land is alkaline, its inhabitants *Maraver*, its deity *Durga.*

The *Kuruver* and *Maraver* are wild tribes, or people less civilized than others. By alkaline land is meant that which produces உவர்மணல, or fuller's earth. This popular idea of the qualities of different soils may perhaps illustrate the parable of the sower in the gospels; and renders it probable that some popular saying of the kind existed amongst the more ancient inhabitants of Palestine. The sea-shore may not be included, because Judea was an inland country.]

The salt sea is a hundred thousand *yojanas:* the *divu* (or island) beyond is a hundred thousand *yojanas.* Beyond, the sea of sugar-cane juice is two hundred thousand *yojanas.* The island beyond that is four hundred thousand *yojanas.* Further on, the sea of honey is four hundred thousand *yojanas:* the island beyond it is eight hundred thousand *yojanas.* In (the sea of milk) is *Vishnu's* place of repose. Beyond that, the island is sixteen hundred thousand *yojanas.* Further on, the sea of sour milk is sixteen hundred thousand *yojanas.* The island beyond is thirty-two hundred thousand *yojanas.* The sea of *ghee*, further on, is thirty-two hundred thousand *yojanas.* Beyond that, the island is sixty-four hundred thousand *yojanas.* Beyond, the sea of fresh-water is called *Perem-perai-kadal* (or the largest of all seas); and is sixty-four hundred thousand *yojanas.* Beyond that is the wall of heaven. In that is *Uthiya-giri-parvatam*, (or the sun-rising mountain,) in which the sun rises. Making in all seven seas, and seven hundred and fifty-two *yojanas.* This is a standard measure.

E.

SCHEDULE of such Tamil and Telugu Manuscripts, in the Mackenzie Collection at Calcutta, as appear to the Editor of the present work to be adapted to cast further light on the History and Antiquities of the *Sora*, *Sera*, and *Pandion* kingdoms. Extracted from the Descriptive Catalogue by H. H. Wilson, Esq.

A.—TAMIL MANUSCRIPTS.

I.—PAURANIC AND LEGENDARY HISTORY.

No. 10.—*Kasi-Khanda of the Skanda-Purana.*

An account of Benares. The translation is ascribed to *Athivira-rama-Pandion.*

No. 14.—*Periya-Purana.*

It contains some particulars concerning *Nyana-Sampanten*, and the persecution of the *Samunals.*

No. 15.—*Tiruvanda-Purana.*

It illustrates a particular act of cruel superstition in *Tiruvanda-Soren;* who had his son put to death for accidentally driving over and killing a calf in the street of *Tiruvalur.*

No. 16.—*Kanchistalla-Purana.*

It ascribes the foundation of Conjeveram to *Kulottunga-Soren.* This *Stalla-Purana* would bear a similar relation to an account of the *Soren* kingdom, as the one abstracted in the first volume of this work does to the *Pandiya-mandalam.*

No. 17.—*Arunachala-Mahatmya.*

An account of the temple at *Tirunamali*, or Trinomalee, which commemorates the legend specified in vol. 1, p. 122, of this work. The temple was repaired by *Vajrankusa*, a name, or title, of a king of Madura. The temple is within the boundaries of the ancient *Sora-desam.*

No. 18.—*Vriddhachala-Purana.*

Legend of *Verdhachalam* in the Carnatic. It might be of some service.

No. 19.—*Indrakila-Parvata-Mahatmya.*

Legend of a double shrine of *Vishnu* and *Siva* on a hill near *Valliamanagar*, or Vellum, in Tanjore; the site of one of *Indren's* penances. The town is said to have been founded by *Kala-Kantha-Soren*. It is mentioned in the Carnataca Dynasty (vol. 2, p. 17) as given up to the Tanjore king by *Visvanatha-Naicker*, in exchange for the rock and fort of Trichinopoly.

No. 20.—*Sivandhi-Stalla-Purana.*

Legendary account of Trichinopoly. The rock is termed a splinter from *Maha-meru:* it was the abode of the giant *Trisira*, a commander of part of *Ravanen's* forces; the rock being called *Trisira-mali*, or hill of *Trisira*, and the district, *Trisira-palliam*, by corruption, Trichinopoly. The neighbouring town of *Uriyur*, or *Wariur*, was founded by *Sarvaditya-Soren*. It was for a time the capital of *Sora-desam*, until buried by a shower of dust: as the legend says, because a *Soren* king forcibly took some *Sivandhi* flowers from the garden of *Sarama-muni*. The queen only escaped the dust-shower; and her child being selected by an elephant, (see vol. 2, p. 59,) was acknowledged rightful heir to the throne.

No. 21.—*Awaryar-Kovil Mahatmya.*

Legendary account of a temple near *Chittambaram;* said to have been founded by *Mani-ka-Vasagar*, (of whom, see vol. 1, pp. 105—110. 181). Mr. Wilson, alluding to Sonnerat's account of him and of Hindu festivals, says, that notwithstanding many inaccuracies and provincialisms, " it continues* to be the only authority worthy to be consulted on these subjects, as observable in the south of India." We trust that this tacit reproach on the *English* lords and literati of the Carnatic, will not be perpetual.

No. 22.—*Vedapuri-Stalla-Purana.*

Legend of a *Saiva* shrine at *Vedapur*. It contains an account of the *Bauddhas*, by *Nyana-Sampanten*.

No. 23.—*Tribhuvana-Stalla-Purana.*

Legend of that place near *Sittambaram;* and also of various temples on the river *Valar:* said to have been founded by *Kulottunga-Soren* and *Keri-kala-Soren*.

No. 24.—*Nalei-Stalla-Purana.*

Adapted to illustrate the five elementary types of *Siva*. (See vol. 1, p. 174.)

No. 26.—*Madhyarjuna Mahatmya.*

Legend of a shrine between the Cauveri and Coleroon rivers; where *Vira-Soren* was released from the crime of *Bramagatti*, or killing a Bramin.

No. 27.—*Perawoliyar-Purana.*

Another name for the *Madura-Stalla-Purana*, or else a different version. The Sanscrit

* Des. Cata. p. 171.

original is called *Halasya Mahatmya;* and is found among the Sanscrit Mc.Kenzie MSS. No. 121, Cata. p. 91.

No. 28.—*Tirapasura-Stalla-Purana.*

Kerikala-Soren is said to have founded the town, and the temple of *Devi* or *Parvati.*

[The writer has had the opportunity of thoroughly examining this now decaying structure. Though still used for religious purposes, its cloisters are chiefly inhabited by large bats, and owls also already tenant the porch-tower of this temple and other neighbouring ones.]

No. 29.—*Srirangha-Mahatmya.*

Legendary account of Seringham Pagoda; said to have been founded by a *Soren* prince.

According to the Carnataca Dynasty, (vol. 2. p. 17.) it was either rebuilt, or much enlarged, by *Visvanatha-Naicker.*

No. 32.—*Palani-Purana.*

Legends of *Palani*, *Sivagiri*, and *Varahagiri*, in the Dindigul province.

[*Palani* is here written according to the southern pronunciation. *Pazhani*, or more commonly Pyney, is a great resort of pilgrims from very distant places. At the usual season of the year many of them are seen at Madras. The grossest imposition is practised on them, by connivance with the Madras Bramins. The standing miracle is the carrying milk in small pans from Madras, sealed up, and its being found to be fresh on being offered at *Palani.* Common report, about Madura, says that much depends on the nature of the present offered with it. If thought suitable, and satisfactory, the attendant Bramin at *Palani* (and many Bramins are retained for the purpose) opens the pans, tastes the milk, pronounces it fresh; and assures the votary of the success of his suit, and of the favor of the god. If the present be judged unsuitable, or beneath the votary's rank or appearance, the Bramin gives him proof that the milk is sour, and his suit unacceptable. *Sic ait populus.* The account also given of the important occasion leading to the foundation of this most celebrated and profitable shrine (to others as well as Bramins), is, that *Siva* one day gave a fruit *(pazham)* to his younger son, *Pulliar*, (or *Ganesa*,) on which the elder boy, *Subraminiyen*, (or *Karticeya*,) was greatly offended at the apparent partiality. To appease him, *Siva* said, *Pazhani* (பழநீ,) "Thou art a fruit:" and to commemorate the honor thus done to *Subraminiyen*, the image was formed, and the temple built. Very many temples have an origin not less puerile.]

No. 34.—*Jambukesvara-Stalla-Purana.*

Legend of the *Saiva* temple near *Srirangham.* (See vol. 1, p. 126.) *Jambuk*, a *muni*, presented a *Jambu*, or rose-apple, to *Siva;* the god rejected it after tasting it. The sage took it up, and put it on his head; and the god being pleased with this act of respect, consented to dwell here as *Jambukesvara.* *Parvati* was once also banished to this place, after having incurred her lord's displeasure.

No. 36.—*Srikarani-Purana.*

A statement of the origin of the accountants of *Tonda-mandalam*, as descendants of *Brahma* and *Sarasvati:* they accompanied *Chenna-Soren* when he first came from the north of India to *Tonda-mandalam.* This chief it seems divided the villages of the country among sixty-four tribes of Brahmans; giving one share to the accountants. The legend is said to be from the *Brahmanda-Puranam*, translated into poetical Tamil, by *Narkiren*, (see vol. 1, pp. 100, 176,) whence the substance was afterwards composed, (we suppose in the *Vasagam*, or ordinary Tamil,) by the Bramin *Guruvappam.*

[An inspection of the MS. would be requisite, in order to ascertain whether it makes *Chenna-Soren* come from *Ayodhya*, or otherwise.]

No. 38.—*Muppuntoti-Wolle* (மூபபுநதோடடவெளி?)

Illustrates some antiquities relative to the fort, temples, and reservoirs at Arcot.

No. 40.—*Warayur-grama-Vernanam.*

Gives an account of *Uriyur* and its temples; calculated to be of service in illustrating the history of this temporary capital of the *Soren* kingdom.

No. 41.—*Vishnu-Kanchi-Kovil-Vernanam.*

Relates to the temple of *Varada-Swami*, or *Varada-raya*, at Conjeveram.

[It is the temple to which immense multitudes of people from Madras, and other places, flock during the principal festival in May.]

II.—LOCAL HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

No. 1.—*Chola-Mahatmya.*

This work professes to be translated from the *Bhavishottara-Purana;* but is not included therein. The manuscript (on paper, the best Tamil manuscripts being usually on palm leaves) was compiled by order of *Sarabhaji* (or Serbojee), one of the Mahratta kings of Tanjore. It supplies a desideratum as to the original foundation of Tanjore, and contains a list of sixteen *Soren* kings, some of them of great celebrity; the names occurring in numerous inscriptions. Much of it is legendary: it is also named *Vrihadiswara-Mahatmya.*

No. 2.—*Chola-Purva-Pattayam.*

The title shews that the palm leaf book must be the original, and the paper one a copy. It is a history of *Soren* kings, professedly derived from inscriptions at Conjeveram. Yet it (ridiculously) makes the heads of the three southern families, *Vira Chola*, *Bala Chera*, and *Vajranga Pandiya*, to have been born for the purpose of destroying *Salivahana*, who it says lived in Trichinopoly, and patronised the *Bauddhas.* His former metropolis is said to have been *Bhoja-rayapur*, in *Ayodhya;* though, in fact, the town of *Boja* was not quite so far north. It contains the story before adverted to (I. 20.) of *Uriyur*, the queen and her child. For the

rest, it can only be depended upon so far as borne out by inscriptions. It is suspected to be of more value than the account of it given to Mr. Wilson would imply. It might possibly furnish at the least important extracts.

No. 3.—*Chola-desa Purvika Cheritra.*

This is a work written on paper, by a native Christian, named *Vedanaigen,* in Colonel Mackenzie's employ, in answer to his inquiries. It appears to be a discriminating investigation of some value, and worth the perusal. We should not be disposed to attribute so much reason, as Mr. Wilson appears disposed to do, to an inference as to modern date of the *Soren* princes from the perfect state of the buildings ascribed to them; because some are not in so perfect a state; others of very ancient foundation have been rebuilt or enlarged; and some are known to have been kept in constant and careful repair, under the inspection of Bramins, from revenues appropriated to the purpose by the Sircar.

No. 4.—*Chola-mandala, Tonda-mandala, Pandya-mandala, Rajakal.*

Kings of the *Sora, Tonda,* and *Pandiya* kingdoms. How far it answers to its extensive title, we cannot ascertain from Mr. Wilson's notice. After very careful inspection, we find it to be the only manuscript in the collection on which he founds his statements in the general Introduction, that "the founder of the *(Pandiya)* kingdom was *Pandya,* a native of Oude"*—which, at all events, does not accord with "local traditions," if the locality designate Madura—and, that "the *Chola* kingdom" was first cleared and cultivated by *Tayaman Nalei,* a settler from Oude, or from Upper Hindustan.† The like statement is given in the notice of the manuscript. It stands therefore as one authority against several. This manuscript is on palm leaves. A long extract from Mr. Ellis, on *Merasi* right, supersedes a fuller notice of the actual contents: that is valuable, but this would be more so. It has some statements regarding the *Sethopathis,* in asserting them to have been lords paramount over Madura for eleven generations, previous to the rule of the Carnataca dynasty; which, if true, would fill up a chasm in our manuscripts. On the whole, it is a subject of some regret that this manuscript is at Calcutta, and not at Madras.

No. 7.—*Pandya-Rajakal.*

Pandion kings. Another important document. The book on paper must be a copy from the one on palm leaves. It appears to be not so full as the Pandion Chronicle in the list of kings; but full in the accounts of the Madura college, which possibly are taken from the *Stalla-Purana.* It might have been useful as an auxiliary; but we conjecture that its place is more than supplied by our own documents.

No. 8.—*Tondamana-Kathai.*

Illustrating the separation of *Tonda-mandalam* from *Sora-mandalam* by *Kulottunga-Soren,* in favor of his illegitimate son *Adonda-Chakraverti:* as such it would be valuable in a consecutive account of the *Sora-desam.*

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* Des. Cata. Intro. p. lxxiv. † Il. p. lxxxii.

No. 10.—*Kongadesa Rajakal.*

Kings of *Konga* (or *Sera*) *desam.* This manuscript is valuable; and has been fully noticed. (Vol. 2, p. 63.)

No. 12.—*Kerala-desam-Kathai.*

A story of the *Kerala* country: it would be probably very useful in a connected account of *Sera-desam.*

No. 16.—*Vadur-Stalla-Purana.*

This *Purana* is alluded to vol. 1, p. 110, note.

Its contents harmonize with the account abstracted from the *Madura-Stalla-Puranam.*

No. 18.—*Sanghattar-Cheritra.*

An account of the Madura College of Bramins.

No. 19.—*Gnyana-Samandhar-Cheritra.*

See vol. 1, pp. 111—15, 185. Perhaps this *Sarittiram* might yield a few further particulars.

No. 24.—*Madura-Virappan-Amman.*

Relates to the family of *Bomma-Naick*, and to the service of *Virappen*, with *Chokanatha-Naick.* As such it would be useful in illustration of a portion of the very modern history of Madura.

No. 25.—*Bommanayaka-Katha.*

An account of the family of a Poligar who accompanied *Nagama-Naick.*

No. 26.—*Ramapayyen.*

This MS. would perhaps give fuller particulars respecting the subduing of the *Sethupathi's* insurrection, as stated in the Carnataca Dynasty, sec. 9. (Vol. 2, p. 31.)

No. 28.—*Narasinh-Raya-Vamsavali.*

An account of the kings of *Vijianagaram.*

No. 32.—*Valankai-Cheritra.*

A compilation by *Vedanaigen*, in the service of Colonel Mackenzie. As an explanation, or illustration, of many every-day matters in the south, and some of antiquity, this *Sarittiram* appears to us peculiarly well worth a translation. It professes on some points to give information such as we have long sought for in vain.

No. 35.—*Tottiyar-Jathi-Varuana.*

Account of the *Toteya* tribe of Telugu origin. *Nagama-Naick's* poligars were of this caste. (Vol. 2, p. 11.) They were brave and daring soldiers.

No. 36.—*Marawa-Jathi-Vernanam.*

Account of the local customs in Marawa, at Ramnad, and at Tinnevelly: as such probably interesting.

No. 39.—*Narival-Palempetta-Vernanam.*

Account of the grant of honorary distinctions to *Alagiya-nayak Polygar*, of Palimpett, and his genealogy.

B.—TELUGU MANUSCRIPTS.

I.—PAURANIC AND LEGENDARY LITERATURE.

No. 18.—*Venkateswara-Mahatmya.*

Legendary account of the temple at Tripetty. It might be of some service in illustrating the *Yadava*, *Soren*, and latter *Vijianagaram*, dynasties.

No. 19.—*Jaganath-Mahatmya.*

Legend of Juggernaut. It might possibly reflect some light on the ancient Calinga, or the more modern *Udiya-desam*, or kingdom of Orrisa.

II.—LOCAL HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, &c.

No. 1.—*Krishna-Raya-Cheritra.*

A poetical account of the reign of *Krishna-Raya*, the seventeenth prince of the *Narapati* kings of *Vijayanagaram*. It appears to be of considerable consequence and authority. This is the prince referred to in the first sections of the Carnataca Dynasty.

No. 2.—*Rama-raja-Cheritra.*

This relates to a later period, and to the overthrow of *Rama-raja* and of the *Vijianagaram* kingdom, by *Ibrahim-Adil-Shah.*

No. 4.—*Pratapa-Cheritra.*

An account of *Pratapa-rudra*, the last of the *Kakateya* kings of *Telingana* of any power. It appears to be of importance to the history of the kings of *Warankal.*

No. 5.—*Jangama-Kalanyana.*

It contains some accounts of princes of various countries in the south of India, and of the *Vijianagaram* dynasty, down to the defeat and death of *Rama-raja.* It is composed in the style of prophecy, by *Sarvanyana.*

No. 8.—*Nava-Chola-Cheritra.*

An account of nine distinguished *Chola* princes, who patronised the *Vira-saiva*, or *Jan-*

gama, religion. These nine kings are named, *Kerikala*, *Vikrama*, *Uttunga*, *Athivaram*, *Varadherma*, *Satyendra*, *Manujendra*, *Vira*, and *Uttama*.

No. 13.—*Tanjawar-Raja-Cheritra*.

This manuscript (of which the title is incorrect) appears very much to resemble the Carnataca Dynasty. It is a narrative, in another language, of the same succession of princes.

No. 14.—*Trichinapali-Raja-Cheritra*.

An account of *Raghunath*, a Poligar of the Tinnevelly country; and apparently an ancestor of the present *Tondaman Bahader*, whose capital is at *Virala-mali*, about twenty-three miles south of Trichinopoly.

The son of *Raghunath* was *Tirumala-Raya*: thirteen other names occur down to *Raghunath*, who was an officer in the service of *Vijaya-Raghava*, raja of Tanjore. This *Raghunath* appears to have cut out for himself, by conquest, from the Madura kingdom, the independent principality now called *Tondaman's* country. His son was *Tirumala-Raya*; his son was *Sri-Vijaya-Raghunath*, said to have conquered *Chanda-Khan*; and probably the ally of the Tanjore king and the English, during the siege of Trichinopoly, by the French in the interests of Chunda-Saheb. By reason of the aid then rendered the *Tondaman* still holds his independent principality.

No. 15.—*Sinhala-Dwipa-Raja-Katha*.

Account of a war between *Periya-Krishnapa-Nayak*, of Madura, successor of *Visvanatha*, and *Tambi-Nayak*, called improperly king of Ceylon.

No. 17.—*Kaliyuga Raja-Cheritra*.

A short account of the most distinguished princes of the *Kali* age, as *Paricshit*, *Satanika*, &c.

No. 22.—*Makaraj-Bomaraj-Vamsavali*.

The genealogy of a family, said to have derived from *Tondaman-Chakraverti*, who ruled in *Karveti-nagaram*, in the zillah of Chittoor, near the Naggery pass, and south of Tripetty.

The Appendix, up to the preceding half-sheet, having been struck off at an early period in the printing of this volume, the Editor, by the intervening delay, as to the remainder, is able, with no common satisfaction to state, not only that at least the greater portion of the preceding MSS. are at Madras, under charge of the Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society, but also that the inspection of so many of them as he could discover has been most kindly and politely conceded to him. For the first indication pointing to these MSS. he is indebted to Sir Ralph Palmer, Knight; but subsequently and more immediately to A. D. Campbell, Esq. and J. C. Morris, Esq. members of the College Board, and the latter gentleman the secretary to the Literary Society. Other MSS. not included in the foregoing list, have hereby come under inspection; with what effect the latter portion of

the present volume will itself best evince. From an inspection* of some of the preceding MSS. some approximation has been made towards a better appreciation of the whole collection: which, though not so valuable as it may have been once represented to be, is yet in some danger as to the contrary extreme of undue depreciation. This danger it is conceived arises, in part, from a report given in at Madras concerning these documents; the result, it is apprehended, either of superficial examination, or else of not precisely knowing what are the points of information on these antiquarian subjects which are desired, by such Europeans as take an interest in historical or other details concerning India. The contempt of natives, and of every thing connected with them, is, by descendants of Europeans, in danger of being carried somewhat too far; even as Europeans themselves have very possibly sometimes verged towards the contrary extreme. But a person may entirely disapprove the native religion, with many native customs, without allowing this feeling to prejudice him against records from which real truth and historical facts may be gleaned, by patient labor and assiduity. The Editor believes that there is a mine requiring to be carefully worked, in order to ascertain and demonstrate the real value of the ore. The opportunity of forming this opinion has been unexpectedly placed in his power. But whether time may be afforded, or sufficient encouragement given, to proceed in researches, the labor attendant on which few can understand or appreciate, will yet remain to be discovered.

F.

As the economy of native courts differed in some particulars from those, even of despotic monarchies, in Europe, the Editor, at an earlier stage of his inquiries, sometimes found himself at a loss accurately to distinguish the respective offices of *Mantiri*, *Piratani*, and *Dalavayi* or *Dalakarten;* and it is therefore possible that many readers may experience the like difficulty. In reading over a portion of the *Manavala Narrayana-Sathagam*, a stanza was met with which defines these, and other offices; and it is in the midst of connected matter not destitute of interest. Hence it has been thought suitable to insert a translation of the first ten stanzas. The work is a very popular one; and, from being used in native schools, three or four copies are said to be found in every house. A printed edition was published some short time since by a college Pandit, stated to be corrected by collation of various copies. The Tamil therefore is not here printed. Two or three copies on palm leaves are among the Mackenzie collection; and, unhappily, lent their aid to an inference, too sweeping, of its containing duplicates and triplicates of every day and very common school

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* It may be perhaps of sufficient consequence, from the notices already given (Vol. 2, p. 73, 74; and Appendix, p. 35, No. 4.), to observe particularly that the MS. in question does not contain the statement ascribed to it. The founding of the shrine at Ramisseram is indeed attributed to a follower of *Rama;* but Madura is merely said to have been founded by "an agricultural Pandion from the North."

books. Colonel Mackenzie may indeed, in some instances, have been imposed upon by interested and illiterate natives; and there is some trash meriting rejection from his accumulation, including duplicates or triplicates of course; but still, so far as this poem is concerned, it is not in itself contemptible; while its great popularity, as an established, though brief, code of Hindu manners and morals, alone suffices to stamp it with considerable importance.

THE *SATHAGAM*, (OR *CENTUM* OF VERSES,) OF *MANAVALA-NARRAYANEN*.

1.—*Bramanal-mahadhuvam, The Dignity of Bramins.*

The Bramin must well understand the *Agamas*, the *Puranas*, and the law of *Menu;* and being himself endowed with wisdom, and performing without fault the sacrifices, and the like, with the various kinds of *mantras*, or charms, he must by these means ASSIST the gods. He must shew the nature of times and seasons, as plainly as one exhibits a fruit held in the hand. The Bramins must remove their own sins by the power of the *Gayatri*, even as fire consumes cotton at the very touch. Three rains every month, an illustrious reputation of kings for good government, fertile fields, all these are acquired, by the virtue of the *Sadur-Veda-Nayagar.**

2.—*Raja-muraimai, The Economics of Kings.*

The Raja must understand four things: that is to say, the law of *Menu*, to listen to the advice of the *Mantiri*, (or counselling minister,) he must be himself intelligent, of good natural capacity, and must know the nature of his kingdom. He must be patient as regards the ear, the eye, and the mind. Being thus qualified, he must sway the sceptre. As the *lotos* flower, which blossoms in the day, and the *cumuthan* (or *ali*) flower blossoms at night, so he must observe the proper times for managing affairs. He must know the proper place wherein to conquer his enemies; even as the alligator when in the water can draw in an elephant, but when out of the water is trampled on by the same beast with one of his feet. He must have valiant troops, wealth, provisions, these and like preparations; he must make large grants and charitable gifts; he must have good reputation for personal good qualities, and fame for splendid acts. Such a one is a king.

3.—*Vaisiyar-perumai, The Honor of Merchants.*

The merchants must skilfully conduct their own business. They must not lay on too large profits. Whosoever comes to them, they must preserve an even and correct balance. If the dishonest come, offering to leave a pledge, they must give them no loan; but if the honest come, and only ask a loan without pledge, they must give it. In writing their accounts they must not allow of a mistake, even if no more than the eighth part of a mustard seed. They will assist a very especial (public) measure, even to the extent of a *Crore* (of money). Such is the just rule of the mercantile class.

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* Literally, "Lords of the four *Vedas*."

4.—*Vellaler-perumai, The honor of Agriculturists.*

The *Vellaler*, by the effect of their ploughing (or cultivation), maintain the prayers of the Bramins, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all. Charity, donations, the enjoyments of domestic life and connubial happiness, homage to the gods, the *Sastras*, the *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, and all other books, truth, reputation, renown, the very being of the gods, things of good report or integrity, the good order of *castes*, and (manual) skill, all these things come to pass by the merit (or efficacy) of the *Vellaler's* plough.

5.—*Purudar-muraimai, The Occupations of Men.*

The proper occupations of the ruder sex are—to understand true wisdom, or to be very wealthy, or to go on religious pilgrimage to celebrated rivers, or to be endowed with a just and charitable disposition, or to be renowned, or to be well skilled in combats, or well learned so as to praise others with approbation, or to be very intelligent in all things; and if there be any man without any one of these qualifications, why, O Divinity! didst thou create such a one on the earth? was it by the sin of the mother's womb? or was it by the influence of an evil eye from others?

6.—*Patanam-muraimai, The requisites of a town.*

If the nature of the capital town of a king be inquired into, it is the following: it must contain the temple of the skilful female singers and dancers, many choultries in the midst of tanks, many tanks, many open choultries, (Mandabams) ditches for the fort, many streets, with bazar streets, cars, elephants, horses, infantry-soldiers. To these four last must be a *(Dalagarten)* general, as commander. There must be a *Mantiri*, a *Piratani*, a *Tanapathi*, and people of different offices of the government: there must be persons of the four principal castes; the place must be invested with the sixteen qualities of *(danam)*, or gifts. Near to the town there must be a river: and it must have a good and just king. Unless it possess these attributes, it is not *Sri-ranga-patnam;* (that is, not a good or well appointed town).

7.—*Mantiri-muthalanavarkal-muraimai, The duties of the king's ministers.*

The proper office of the *Mantiri* is to acquaint and advise the king concerning the nature of becoming proceedings; and concerning such as ought to be rejected. The *Dalagarten* is, according to time and his own strength, to conquer the enemies of the state. The *Piratani* manages carefully the treasure, the internal administration of the kingdom, with all connected matters. The *Royasen* (or secretary) must be able to read fluently, must have a good memory as to what is said to him, and must be able to write down instructions without error or omission—Such a one is a *Royasen*. The *Karnin* (or accountant) must have his account true as the sun; or even if the sun should happen to rise in the west, at least his account must not vary. The *Tanapathi* (or ambassador) must be skilful in speech, in the decorum of princely assemblies, and the excellencies or peculiarities of other kings.

8.—*Narkala-muraimai, The results of propitious times.*

If any one receive authority, it will be attended with power. If any have robes and jewels, the result will be elegance. If great riches are possessed, they will impart influence. If any have great talents, fame will be the consequence. Those possessed of piety will receive divine favor. Any possessed of youth naturally seek marriage. These results follow, even as the *cumutham* flower opens to the rays of the moon.

9.—*Vahana-muraimai, Decorum of Vehicles.*

Any one who having friends (or relatives) and confidential persons, is doing well, and aiding them, then a gift of a horse is suitable; he may mount and ride on one. If any one has given donations and charities, and has reputation and renown, he may ride in a palanquin. If any one has conquered enemies in the service and to the glory of his prince, he may ride on an elephant. If any one skilfully speaks or pleads before the valiant and powerful, he may receive a banner.† But if any one of the before-mentioned persons, not having pleased the king, and received them from him as honorary presents, take these distinctions to himself, he is like the stage-player, who assumes habits and titles not belonging to him; or he is like those who mount horses and palanquins merely for the purpose of a marriage procession in the town.

10.—*Narguna-menmai, The excellence of good dispositions.*

To walk according to a father's and mother's advice; to fulfil exactly promises or engagements verbally made; to adhere faithfully to vows offered; never to tell lies; to do deeds of charity or beneficence; to be very patient; to fulfil contracts or engagements made by ancestors; to exercise trust in God; are excellencies. Examples of these virtues are, *Parasu-Ramen; Karnen; Rama; Bishma; Hari-chandren; Mabali; Dherma-raja; Bagirathen;* and *Pracalathanen.*

G.

In vol. 1, at p. 183, a reference is made to a manuscript bearing on the legendary history, and subsequent affairs, of Ceylon: it is one of those which we have denominated *Mirtanjeya* MSS. As the historical use of this document chiefly relates to an incident in the reign of *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker*, and a few later matters, it was at one time

† The collated text of the College Pandit reads—"If any one be possessed of very high and faultless reputation, he will receive respectful salutations." But this sentence would more properly belong to the preceding stanza. Besides, a palanquin seems to be indicated for a *Mantiri*, an elephant for a *Dalavayi*, and a banner for a successful ambassador.

intended to insert it in the body of annotations connected with that period. But on considering the more important matter pressing for introduction there, together with the reference contained in this document to matters of greater antiquity in the *Pandion* history, and the express assertion which it makes, not that the *Samunal* religion was the primitive one at Madura, but that it was brought thither from Ceylon, we have judged this position in the Appendix to be, on the whole, the most suitable.

Exclusive of Captain Mahony's paper, referred to in our first volume, the reader will find the traditions concerning the early history of Ceylon in a quarto work edited by PHILALETHES, A.M. Oxon: derived from authorities in the Dutch language. Concerning the legend here given, and some matters at the close, which carry with them an artificial appearance, the reader may of course extend to them that measure of credence which he pleases.

NARRATIVE OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE KINGS OF *KANDI-DESAM*, (OR CEYLON).

In the early time, when the *Pandion* was ruling in Madura, the *Samunar* came from *Singala-Desam*, and taught some *sastras* to the king and to the people, with the design of bringing about the general establishment of their *Buddha* religion. They displayed certain wonderful and astonishing performances; and, as they were skilful in magical incantations and ceremonies, they succeeded in deluding the king, and bringing him over to the profession of their religious way. Notwithstanding, the wife of the king did not enter into that way; but, continuing to worship *Minatchi* and *Sundaresvarer*, she prayed to them; lamenting, and desiring to know how the king had been seduced into a strange religion. While so engaged the god visited the king with a severe bowel-complaint, which could not be cured by the efforts of many physicians; and, when the king was suffering greatly from the disorder, the god *Subraminya* assumed the form of *Sammanta-murti*, who came with a sacred *cortege*; and a severe discussion took place between *Sammantar* and the *Samunar*: when *Sammantar* said to them, "The physicians have not been able to cure the king's disorder; if you can do so, your religion is the great one; but if you cannot cure the disease, you shall all of you mount the impaling stakes, or else enter into the *Saiva* religion; and, if I am unable to cure that sickness, then I myself, with all my sacred company, will mount the impaling stakes. Thus you and I will execute and deliver over a written agreement in the presence of the king." Both parties accordingly went into the presence of the king, and by a strict appointment each party gave a writing into the hands of the king; who, through partiality towards the *Samunar*, ordered them to have the first trial of their healing power. They, by their charms, and inspection in their books, made every effort; but were so far from curing the king, that they increased, and greatly aggravated, his distress. Next the king ordered *Sammantar-murti* to try his skill; who, meditating on the god, gave the king *vibuthi*, or sacred ashes, and immediately the bowel complaint was cured. The whole of the *Samunar*, great as their number was, refused to profess the *Saiva* religion; and all of them mounted the impaling stakes.

கணடிதேசதது ராசாக்களுடைய வர்ததமானஙகள யெனன வெனறால ஆதியில
மதுரையிலப்பாணடியனராச்சியபரிபாலனம்பணணையிலச்சிஙகள்தேசததிலிருநதுசம
ணர்களவநது மதுரைததேசமெலலாம்தஙகளுடையபவுததமத்ததிலவரும்படிக்குச்சி
றுதுசாஸ்ததிரஙகளைராசாவுக்குஞசனஙகளுக்கும்போதிதது சிறுதுஅதிசெயமாகயிரு
க்கிறமகிமையளையும் காணபிவிச்சு அவர்களமநதிரதநதிர்ததிலக்கெட்டிக்காறரானபடி
யினாலேராசாவைததஙகளமத்ததுக்குளளாகமயக்கிவசப்படுததிக்கொணடுயிருக்கையி
லஅநதப்பாணடியராசாபெணசாதிமடடும்அநதமத்ததுக்குளப்படாமலமீனாட்சிசுந
தேசுபராளைப்பிருததிச்சுக்கொணடுராசாவும் தேசமும்சமணர்களமதமாகப்போச்சு
தேயிதறகுஎனனஉபாயமெனறுசுவாமியைப்பிருததிச்சுக்கொணடிருக்கையிலசுவாமி
பாணடியனுக்குவயததுவலிபோலேஉணடுபணணிவிச்சுஅனேகம்வயிததியாளெலலா
ம்பாத்ததிலும்தீராமலராசாவுக்குநிரம்பவும் உபததிரஙகணடுயிருக்கிறமுனனுக்குஅது
நிமிததியமாக சுப்பிறமணியசுவாமிசம்மநதமூர்த்தி அவதாரமாகஎடுத்து கொணடுசிறு
துதிருக்கூடடஙகளுடனேவநதார் அப்போது சமணர்களுக்கும் சம்மநதமூர்த்திக்கும்
வாதுகளவநதுசம்மநதமூர்ததிசொனனதுபாணடியராசாவுக்கு வயததுவலிஉபததிரம்
ஒருததராலுநதீராமலிருக்குதேநீஙகளதீர்ததாலஉஙகளமதநதான்பெரியது நீஙகளந
தவயததுவலியைதீர்க்கமாட்டாதே போனாலநீஙகளவவளவுபேரும்களுவிலேறுகிறது
அலலவெனறால நம்மிடசிவசமையததுக்குளப்படுகிறது நாமநதவயததுவலியைததீரா
தேபோனால நாமும்நம்மிடதிருக்கூடடஙகளும்களுவிலேறுகிறதுயிநதப்பிறகாரம்நீங
களும்நாமும்ராசாமுனனுக்குஉடனபடிக்கைச்சீடடெளுதிகுடுப்போமெனறுஉபயத்
திராளும் ராசாவினிடததிலப்போய்க்கையேறி ராசா அவர்களிருபேரிடததிலும்கை
யெளுததுவாஙகினதிலும்சமணர்களபேரிலப்பட்சததினாலே அவர்களைததானேமுன
னேபார்க்கச்சொலலிச்சொனனார்அவர்களமநதிரததினாலேயும்அவர்களுக்குததெரிந
தசாஸ்திரஙகளினாலேயும் பார்த்ததிலும் ராசாவுக்கு உபததிரநதீராமல நிரம்பவும் அதி
கஉபததிரஙகணடுது அநதமுனனுக்குசம்மநதமூர்த்தியைப்பார்க்கச்சொனனார்சம்மந
தமூர்த்திசுவாமியைததியானம்பணணிவீபூதிகொடுததார்உடனேவயததுவலிசொஸ்த
மாச்சுதுசமணர்களவவளவு பேரும்சிவமததத்துக்குளளாக நாஙகளவருகிறதிலலையென
றுஅவ்வளவுபேருநதானேகளுவிலேறினார்கள அநதச்சமணர்களவகையிலஒருபெணபி
ளளையும் அவளமகளுமாகததப்பிக்கணடி தேசததுக்குப்போனார்கள அப்போதுகண
டிதேசம்தனனரசுநாடாய்அவனவனவீடடுக்கு அவனவனபெரியதனமாகயிருநதார்க
ளஅப்போது அநதஅம்மாளுடையபெண்நலலரூபவதியாகபுததியரிகிறபக்குவமாசயி
ருநதுதுஅப்போதுஅநதசிஙகள்தேசததுததலவமார் பெண்மேலேயிச்சைப்படடுஉ
ணக்கெணக்கெனடதாய்ஒனறுக்கொனறுஇசலிவாடடமாகிஅநதப்பெணணும்ஒருதரு
க்கும்சரிப்படடாமலஒருஅறைவீடுகல்வீடுக்கடடிஅவர்களுக்குஅனனபானாதிகளதேவை
யானபதார்த்தம் ஒருவருசததுக்குநிதானம்பணணிஅநதவீடடுக்குளளேவைததுவாச

But a female, with her daughter, from among these *Samunar* escaped, and went over to *Kandi-desam* (or Ceylon). At that time that country was its own king; and in every house each master was lord and chief. That lady's daughter was of handsome appearance; and now nearly advancing towards maturity. Several leading men of that *Singala-desam* were desirous of forming a marriage contract with her; but she rejected all their various proposals, and would accept no one of them. In consequence the suiters constructed a house entirely of stone, in which they confined both mother and daughter for a twelvemonth; supplying them at once with needful support and such kinds of food as they desired: and having carefully barred and secured the door, they placed guards around. Some time subsequent to these arrangements, the mother called out that her daughter was arrived at maturity; and a short time after she again called out, saying that her daughter was pregnant. Thereupon the *Singala* head men were astonished; and said, "After taking all these precautions, how has it happened that this female is with child?" They proceeded to open the prison; and to inquire into the circumstances of the case. The young woman said, "Except only *Surya-Bagavan* (the Sun), I know nothing of any one." They said, "Will you take an oath to the truth of this?" She answered, "Whatever oath or test you prescribe, I will do accordingly." In consequence they had an iron image of a child, heated to redness, and directed her to take this into her arms, and carry it to a certain mark, which they pointed out. She took up the iron image, pressed it to her breast, as though it had been her own child; and, taking it to the prescribed distance, brought it back again and laid it down before them. Seeing this wonder, they were all astonished, and said, "This female can only be considered as a divine form, and not as merely human." They all fell at her feet; and then said to each other, "The child that shall be born of that female shall thenceforward be our king; and we will submit ourselves to his guidance and authority:" to this effect the head men, and the whole of the country people of that *Singala-desam* made a solemn decree. Again, when some time had gone by, that lady was delivered of a male child. The child daily increased in size, and was remarkable for great personal strength. The people had a jewel throne, and a crown with pendant ear-drops, made; and caused the young man to be anointed and installed as king of the *Singala-desam.*

Of this race when many kings had reigned, among them was one who was named *Raja-singha-maha-raja.* He conducted the affairs of the country in a warlike and powerful manner. The sword of his hand, and the wrist circlet which he wore, are still preserved. That sword even if two or three persons attempt to lift it they cannot do so: but he was of size and the stature to use this sword. He ruled the kingdom a long time. After him his son, named *Vijia-Tanma-maha-raja,* also ruled for a considerable period. After him his son, *Vijia-Bavu-raja,* ruled for a short space; and after him his son, *Cumara-singha-maha-raja,* held the supreme authority.

Thus far the crown went by regular descent from father to son. That king was long unmarried, because there was no female of the royal race; in consequence of which circumstance the head men and country people of that country consulted together, and said, "If there be no child to this king, as heir to the throne, the royal authority will afterwards cease, and it will be needful to send to Madura or *Tirusirapuram* (Trichinopoly) to nego-

ஜலஅடைததுப்பூடடுப்போடடுசுத்தியுஙகாவலவைததுப்பததிரப்படுததியிருந்தார்கள்
அப்படிஇருக்குமிடததிலசிறுதுநாளைக்குப்பிறகுஅநதப்பெண்ருதுவாசசுதெனறுஉ
ளளாக இருநதுஅநதஅம்மாளகூப்பிடடுச்சொனனுள்பினனையும்சிறுதுநாளைக்குப்பி
றகுஅநதஅம்மாள பெண்கெர்பமாக இருக்கிறுளெனறு கூப்பிடடுச் சொனனுளஅப்
போதுசிஙகள்ததலவமார்ஆச்சரியப்படடுநாம்அரைக்குளளேவைதது இததனைபநது
பஸ்தப்பணணிஇருக்கஇநதப்பெண் கெர்பமானவயனம்யெனனவெனறுகதவைத
திரநதுஅநதப்பெணணைவரவளைதது கெர்பமானவயனம்யெனனவெனறுகேடடார்க
ள்சூரியபகவானுடையசெயலேஅலலாமல நானெனறுமறியேனெனறுஅநதப்பெண்
சொனனுளஇநதப்பிறகாரம்நிறனனயம்பணணிக்குடுப்பியாவெனறு கேடடார்களநீங
கள்யெனனபிறமாணம்பணணிக்குடுக்கச்சொனனியளோஅநதப்பிறமாணம்பணணிக்
குடுக்குறேமெனறுஅநதப்பெண்சொனனுளஅப்போதுஇரும்புநாலேஒருபிளளைப
ணணிஅதைதத தீயிலப்பளுக்கக்காச்சி இநதஇரும்புப் பிளளையை யெடுததுக்கொணடு
ஒருஅடையாளம் சொலலிஅநதமடடுக்குப்போய்வாச்சொலலிச் சொனனுர்களஅநத
ப்படிக்கிஅநதப்பிளளையையெடுததுமார்பில தனகுளநதையைப்போலேஅணைததுக்
கொணடுஅவர்களசொனனலெக்குவரைக்கும்போய்திரும்பக்கொணடுவநதுஅவர்கள்
முனனேவைததாளஅப்போதுசறுவததிராளும்ஆச்சரியப்படடுஇநதப்பெண்தெயவ
சூருபமேஅலலாமல மனுடனொனறுசொலலப்போகாதெனறு சறுவததிராளும்அநத
அம்மாளகாலிலேவிளுநதுஇனிமேலிநதஅம்மாளவயததிலேபிறக்கிறபிளளையைநம்மி
டதேசததுக்குராசாவிலலாத்ததினலேராசாவாகவைததுஅவர்ஆக்கினைக்குளளாகஇரு
ந்துநடந்துகொள்வோமெனறுசிஙகள்தேசத்துத்தலவமார்நாடடார்சறுவததிராளும்
கூடிதீர்மானம் பண்ணிக்கொணடார்களபினனையும்சிறுதுநாளைக்குப்பிறகுஅநதஅம்
மாள்வயததிலஆண்பிளளை பிறநதுதுஅநதப்பிளளை தாளுக்குநாள்தீர்கவானுகபுசபலப
ருக்கிறமததுடனே இருநதார்அப்போதுாறறின சிம்மாசனமும்கிரீடகுணடலமும்உ
ணடுபணணிஅவரைசிஙகள்தேசததுக்குராசாவாகபடடாபிஷேகம்பணணிவச்சார்கள
அநதவம்முசம்பாரம்பரியமாக அனேகராசாக்களபடடமாணடுவநததிலஅநதவஙகிச
ததில்ராச்சிஙகமகாராசாவெனறுஒருராசாப்பிறநதார்அவர்பராக்கிறமசாலியாகஇருந
துராச்சியபரிபாலனம்பணணிக்கொணடுஇருநதார் அவர்கைய்க்கததிஅவர்போடடிரு
நதகடையம்இப்போதுமிருக்குதுஅநதக்கததிரொணடுமூனறுபேர்கூடியெடுததாலும்
யெடுக்கப்படாதுஅவர்அநதக்கததிகடடததக்கஆகிறிதியும் உனனிதமாகவுமிருப்பார்
அவர்அநதப்படி வெகுநாள்ராச்சியமாணடுமவருக்குப்பிறகாலம் அவர்குமாரனவிசை
யதனமமகாராசா அவர்வெகுநாளராச்சியமாணடுமெவருக்குப்பிறகாலம் அவர்குமாரன
விசையபாகுராசா அவர்சிறுதுனளராச்சியமாணடு அவருக்குப்பிறகாலம்அவர்குமார
னகுமார்சிஙகமகாராசா துரைததனம்பணணினர்அதுவரைக்கும் மகனபடடமாகவந
திதுஅநதராசாவுக்குராச்வஙகிசததிலப் பெண்களிலலாமல இருநததினலே வெகு

tiate for a wife to the king: accordingly they selected and sent suitable negotiators, to whom they gave in charge certain garments and ornaments, with some cloths of surprising workmanship. These messengers obtained an interview with the king (of Madura), and represented to him, that as their own king had no suitable choice in marriage, they solicited that a female from his house might be given to their king, and intrusted to their safe conduct. On this request being made, the king, *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker*, was highly incensed; and, refusing to receive the garments brought as presents from the *Kandi* king by his people, said, "Is your king of our caste? Heretofore has there been agreement between us, and will there be henceforward? Have you dared, without fear, to come and ask a female from me?" and saying thus, he ordered his *Chobedaris* (attendants with silver sticks) to carry them outside of the fort, without permission to return. And he strictly charged all his relatives not to give any female to them.

Notwithstanding, a very poor person in the country, of our religion, treated secretly with the men who had come from *Kandi*, and, agreeing to give them his daughter, he received from them some gold *huns* and garments; and, bidding the men who had come go before him to Ramiseram, he in the night time, no one knowing his purpose, set out with his family to Ramiseram, and there embarked on a *Dhoney* (country vessel), in company with the *Kandi* people, and went with them to *Kandi;* where he gave to that king his daughter in marriage. Some time elapsed, but the king remained childless, and the king himself died.

After his death his brother-in-law, the brother of his queen, was chosen king, and ruled the country. His name was *Vijia-bala-maha-raja.* As he was desirous of marrying from among his own relatives, he sent messengers with a view to accomplish this end. At that period the king *Vijia-Ranga-Choka-natha-Naicker* was deceased, and after him the *rani* (or queen), *Minatchi-Ammal,* ruled in Trichinopoly; and *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker* had reigned five years in Madura and the Tinnevelly country: when the *Rani-Ammal* was deified (died); and, as the king, *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker,* had been driven away, and was come to reside at *Velleicurchi,* his relatives and dependents had left him, and were dispersed; and one of these reflected, "As the king of *Kandi,* who has sent these messengers, is of our own religious persuasion, it may be permitted us to give him a wife:" accordingly he went and gave the king a wife.

That king also died without issue; and, as before, the people chose the brother of his wife to be king. His name was *Angaranguthi-maha-raja.* Some of his relatives from this country assembled themselves and furnished him with a wife from among their number. He having no child, his brother-in-law, named *Kondajala-maha-raja,* was made king. In order to procure him a wife, some people came to this country. At that time *Rama-Kistnama-Naicker* and *Naranapa-Naicker,* being brothers, were in the suite of *Raja-Bangaru-Tirumala-Naicker;* and afterwards they went to *Ramanathapuram* and *Latchmipuram.* The *Kandi* men came and spoke with these persons; and both of them agreed to go: taking their families with them, they went to *Kandi,* and supplied the king with a wife. As that king also died without issue, his brother-in-law, or wife's brother, was crowned. His name was *Kirti-Simala-maha-raja.* He ruled a long time, and he married

ள்க்கலியாணமிலலாமலிருநதுஅநதசிங்கள்ததலவமாரும்நாடடாரும்கூடியோசினைப
ணணிஇநதராசாவுக்குப்பிறகாலம்படடததுக்குப்பிளளையிலலாமலஇருநதாலராசரீக
ம்யெடுததுப்போர்தாகஇருக்குதெனறு மதுரைதிருசிர்புர்ததுராசா வளியில போய்
பெண்கேடடுக்கலியாணம்பணண வேணுமெனறுசிறுதுவஸததிர் பூசனுதிகள அதிசிய
மானவஸததுக்களும்குடுததுக் காரியஸததாளையும்அனுப்பிராசபேடடிபணணியெங
களராசாவுக்குக்கலியாண மிலலாமலிருக்கிறபடியினாலே இவடததிலிருநது பெண்போ
ய்க்கலியாணமாகும்படியாய்உததர்வுசெயய வேணுமெனறுகேடடார்கள அப்போது
ராசாவிசையரெஙகச சொக்கனாதனாயக்கர்வர்கள திரம்பவும்கோபமாகி கணடிராசாவ
கைமனுசாள கொணடுவநதவஸ்ததிர்பூசனுதிகளையும்ஒப்புக்கொளளாமல உஙகளராச
நம்மிடசாதியாமுனனும்பினனும்நமக்குமவர்களுக்குஞசம்மநதமுணடாபயமிலலாம
ல்நம்மிடததிலவநதுப்பெண்கேட்கபோச்சாவெனறுஅவர்களைசோபுதாரியளைவிட்டு
க்கோடடைக்கி வெளியே கொணடுபோய் விடடுவிடச்சொலலி பநதுசனஙகளுக்கெல
லாம் இவர்களுக்குபெண்குடுக்கவேணடாமெனறு தாகீதைபணணிவிச்சார்கள அப்படி
யிருக்குமிடததிலஒருவர்நாடடுப்பிறததிலநம்மிடசாதியிலரொம்பயெளியவராயிருநதா
ர்அவர் ஒருததரையுமறியாமலக் கணடியிலிருநது வநதமனுசரைக் கணடுபேசிதம்மிட
பெணணைக்குடுக்கிறேனெனறுஅவர்களிடததில்சிறுதுவிராகனும்வஸததிர்பூசனுதிகளு
ம்வாஙகிக் கொணடுவநதமனுசரை முனனுதாகப்போய் ராமேசுபர்ததிலிருக்கச்சொல
லிஇவர்ராததிரியேஒருததருநதெரியாமல தம்முடசமுசார்ததுடனேராமீசுபர்ம்போ
ய்ச்சேர்நதுகணடிமனுசாளுடனேதோணியேறிக்கணடிக்கிப்போய்அநதராசாவுக்கு
தம்மிடபெணணைக்கலியாணம் பணணிக்குடுததுசிறுதுநாளிருநது அநதராசாவுக்கும்
பிளளையிலலாமலிருநது அநதராசாக்காலஞசெனறுபோனார் அநதராசாவுக்குக்கலியா
ணம்பணணின பெணணுடனேகூடப் பிறநதவர் மச்சினனாகச்சே அவருக்குப்படடங
கடடிஅவர்ராச்சியமாணடுஇருநதார் அவர்பேர்விசையபால மகாராசா அவருக்குக்கலி
யாணம் பணணயிவடததில பநதுசனஙகளிலகலியாணம்பணண வேணுமெனறுமனுட
ரைநேமுகம்பணணிஅனுப்பிவிச்சார்கள அப்போதுராசாவிசையரெஙகச்சொக்கநாத
நாயக்கர்காலஞ் செனறுஅவருக்குப்பிறகாலம் ராணிமீனாட்சியம்மாளதிரிசிர்புர்ததிலு
ம்ராசாவஙகாருதிருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்களமதுரையும்திருநெலவேலிச்சீர்மையும்அஞசுவ
ருசம்துரைததனம்பணணிராணியம்மாள்வர்கள தெய்வீகமாய்ப்போய்ராசாவஙகாரு
திருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்களும் யெடுபடடுவெளளிக்குறிச்சியில வநதிருநததினாலே பநது
சனஙகள அவர் வசவறததிக்குளளாக விலலாமலசிதறிப்போன படியினாலேஇப்போது
கணடியிலததுரைததனம்பணணுகிறராசா நம்மிடசுய சாதியானபடியினாலேஅவருக்கு
ப்பெண்குடுக்கலாமெனறுநம்மிடபநதுக்களில் ஒருவர் பெண்கொணடுபோய்க்குடுத
தார்அநதராசாவுக்கும்பிளளையிலலாமலகாலஞசெனறுபோய்அநதப்பெணணுடனே
கூடப்பிறநதவர்ராசாவுக்குமச்சினனானபடியினாலே அவருக்குப்படடஙகடடினார்கள்

two wives, being the two daughters of *Vijia-Manar-Naicker*, the grandson of a former king of Tanjore, named *Raja-Vijia-ragava-Naicker*. (See p. 194, *et seq.*) Besides he married two other wives from among his own relations. But all four brought him no offspring. *Kanaka-vali-Ammal*, the mother of the great-grandmother of *Kirti-Simala-maha-raja's* father, and *Ariyaras-Ammal*, the grandmother of the great-grandmother of *Bangaru-Tirumali-Naicker*, who is now at *Velleicurchi*, were sisters. This *Kirti-Simala-maha-raja* having died, and his four wives being without child, or children, his younger brother, named *Rajathi-raja, Raja-Simala-maha-raja*, was crowned. He married the younger sister of *Vencata-Perumal-Naicker;* and, after a long time remaining childless, he died; and his brother-in-law's son was crowned, and now (when this MS. was written) rules the kingdom.

A CHRONICLE OF THE ACTS OF THE *SETHUPATHIS*, THE RULERS OF THE RAMNAD CAPITAL.

Translated from a Telugu MS. in the Mackenzie collection.

In the early times, when the *Chakravertis* flourished, seven persons from among the inhabitants of this Ramnad peninsular coast were appointed, in order to be its guardians. When thus, through a long and remote traditionary period, they had continued for many generations to guard it, one among the seven persons, the son of *Shethunga-deven*, who was named *Sadaica-devaiyer-Udiyan-Sethupathi*, in the year of *Salivahana-Sagartam* 1527 and of the Christian year 1606, went to *Maha-raja Sri-Tirumali-Naicker*, one of the Carnataca lords, who was king of the Madura country; and being the chief of the seven, he received authority to rule this Ramnad kingdom, together with all connected honors, and then returned. At the same time the other six persons, who were also guardians, were included in his government; and, together with all the inhabitants, yielded their consent. He ruled for seventeen years, and then died. This ruler, who was otherwise named *Udaiyan-palli*, had one wife and four children. Among these four children, the eldest, named *Kuttan-Sethupathi*, was crowned S.S. 1544, Christian era 1623, and ruled fourteen years. He died childless. His younger brother, *Dalavayi-Sethupathi*, was crowned in S.S. 1558, Christian era 1637; and, after some time had elapsed, his younger brother, named *Bettana-Naicker*, opposed him; and going to the Madura king, *Tirumali-Naicker*, he received authority thence to conduct the government in his own name; and bringing an army along with him, he put his elder brother, *Dalavayi-Sethupathi*, in prison, and sent him with all speed to

அவர்பேர்அங்காரஙகுதிமகாராசா அவருக்குக்கலியாணம் பணணவேணுமெனறுயிவட
ததுபநதுசனஙகளிலபெண்கூடடிப் போய்க்கலியாணம் பணணினார்களஅவருக்கும்பி
ளளையிலலாமலஅவர்மசசினன்கொணடசாலமகாராசா அவருக்குப்படடஙகட[illegible]அவரு
க்கும்கலியாணம் பணணுகிறதறகுப்பெணணுக்காக யிவடததுக்குமனுசர்வநதார்கள்
அப்போது ராமகிஷணப்பனாயக்கர் னாறணப்பநாயக்கர் ரெணடுபேர்அண்ணன் தம்பி
மார்ராசாவங்காருதிருமலைனாயக்கர்வர்களகூட வேவெளளிக்குறிச்சியிலவநதிருந்துசிறு
துநாளைக்கிப்பிறகுஇருமனாதபுரம் லெட்சிமீபுர்ததிலவநதிருநதார்களயிவர்களிடதது
க்குக்ணடிமனுடர்வநதுபேசினதிலஉபையததிராளும் பெண்குடுக்கிறோமெனறுசம்ம
திததுசசமுசார்ததுடனேகணடிக்கிப்போய்அநதராசாவுக்கு பெணணைக்கலியாணம்ப
ணணிக்குடுததார்கள அநதராசாவுக்கும் பிளளையிலலாமலசிறுதுநாள் ராட்சியபரிபால
னம்பணணி அவருநதெய்வீகமானார்அநதப்பெணணுடனே கூடப்பிறநதவர்ராசாவுக்
குமசசின்னானபடியினாலேஅவருக்குப்படடஙகடடினார்கள அவருக்குப் பேர்கீர்ததிசி
ம்மள்மகாராசா அவரும்வெகுநாள ராட்சியபரிபாலனம்பணணி அவருக்குமுன்தஞசா
வூர் துரைத்தனம்பணணின ராசா விசையராகுவனாயக்கர்வர்களுடையபேரன விசையம
னார்ப்பனாயக்கர் மக்களரெணடுபேர்கலியாணம்பணணிக்குடுததார்கள பினனும்பத
துக்களிலரெணடுபேரைக்கலியாணம்பணணினார்களஅந்த நாலுபேருக்கும்பிளளையில்
லலாமல்போசசுது அந்தகீர்த்தி சிம்மள்மகாராசாவுக்குததகப்பனவளிநாலாம்பாடடி
யானகனக வளளியம்மாளும்இப்போது வெளளிக்குறிசசியிலிருக்கிற மதுரைராசாவங
காருதிருமலைநாயக்கர்வர்களுடைய அஞசாம்பாடடியான அரியாசம்மாளும்கூடப்பிற
ந்தவர்கள்இந்தக்கீர்த்திசிம்மள் மகாராசாவும்தெய்வீகமாய்ப்போய் அவர்கலியாணம்
பணணினநாலுபேர்பெண்களுக்கும்பிளளையிலலாததுனாலே அவர்தம்பிராசாதிராசா
ராசாசிம்மள்மகாராசாவுக்கும்படடஙகடடிஅவருக்கும்வெஙகிடடபெருமாளனாயக்கர்
தங்கச்சியைக்கலியாணம் பணணி வெகுநாளிருந்துஅவருக்கும்பிளளையிலலாமல அவர்
தெய்வீகமாய்ப்போய் அவர்மசசினன்வெஙகிடடப்பெருமாளநாயக்கர் குமாரனுக்கு
இப்போதுபடடஙகடடிதுரைததனம் பணணுகிறார்.

Madura: after which he ruled with sole authority for three years Subsequently *Maha-raja, Tirumali-Naicker*, was pleased to extend his gracious favor to *Dalavayi-Sethupathi*, and crowned him again in S.S. 1561, Christian era 1640. He thus ruled for nine years, and then died. His younger brother, *Bettana-Naicker*, performed his funereal rites; and, as the deceased left no children, the three sons of his sister, named respectively *Danukodi-dever*, *Ragu-natha-dever*, and *Athi-narrayana-dever*, went to the ruling sovereign of the Madura kingdom, and were crowned in S.S. 1570, A. D. 1649; after which they returned, and having divided the kingdom into three portions, they ruled conjointly for the space of ten years. The eldest and the youngest having died, the middle one of the three, *Ragu-natha-dever*, united the other portions with his own, and reigned over the whole during twenty-six years. After him there remained his two children, named *Raja-Surya-deven* and *Athina-deven*. The eldest, *Raja-Surya-deven*, was crowned in S.S. 1606, A. D. 1685, and died after having reigned six months. His younger brother, *Athina-deven*, having been crowned, ruled for three months and died. As they both died without children, and as their sisters had no children, and as there was no suitable person to succeed to the kingdom, the relations of that *Marava* tribe, with the inhabitants of the country and the official persons of the capital, all assembled, and crowned *Ragu-nathu-dever*, the so-called *Kilaven-Sethu-pathi*, in S.S. 1607, A. D. 1686. He ruled for thirty-seven years, and died. The mother of his son, *Bavanisangar-deven*, was not born of a good caste, and by consequence *Bavanisan-gar-deven*, who was born of her, did not inherit the kingdom. In consequence they crowned *Vijiyacu-natha-Sethupathi*, the son of the sister of the before-mentioned *Ragunath-dever*, who was called *Kilaven-Sethupathi*, which circumstance occurred in S.S. 1644, A. D. 1723. He ruled for fifteen years, and died without offspring. They crowned *Tagapen-deven*, the son of the former's elder sister. After he had ruled four months, as there was a fault in his mother's pedigree, there was a dispute among his relatives, it being asserted that he had no claim to the crown, and was not suitable for the government. At the same time the before-mentioned *Bavanisangar-dever*, who had gone to Tanjore and obtained that king's favor, returned with a great number of people, and put *Tagapen-dever* into prison: after which he himself ruled the kingdom for five years. On making war against the *Palliya-caren* of *Sivagangai*, who, from having four fortresses, was usually styled *Nalu-Kottei-Udeiyat-deven*, this chief fled and took refuge at Tanjore. Before that *Katta-deven*, the servant of *Tagapen-deven*, who had been chased away by *Bavanisangar-deven*, was in attendance at Tanjore. The *Sivagangai Palliya-caren*, named *Nalu-Kottei-udeiyat-deven*, made one cause with him; and after an interview with the king, acquired his plenary favor, and by his aid they assembled troops, and drove away *Bavanisangar-deven*. In S.S. 1650, A. D. 1729, they installed *Katta-deven*, who was also called *Mutthu-Ragu-natha-Sethupathi*, in the possession of the government. As *Nalu-Kottei-udeiyat-dever*, the *Siva-gangai Palliya-caren*, had labored much in all this business, and had rendered effectual aid, *Katta-dever* reposed confidence in him, and dividing his Ramnad country into five portions, he set apart and gave to him a grant of two of these, so long as the moon and sun endure, freely to enjoy. The other three portions *Katta-dever*, also called *Mutthu-Ragu-natha-Sethupathi*, ruled over for six years, and then died.

In S. S. 1669, A. D. 1748, they crowned *Rakana-dever*, the grandson of the preceding chief's elder sister; but as the consent of the people was not given, they set him aside, and, in S. S. 1670, A. D. 1749, *Sella-dever*, also called *Vijiyacu-natha-Sethupathi*, conducted the government for three years, and died. He had no son suitable to inherit the government.

Subsequently, from S. S. 1683, A. D. 1763, the female named *Mutthu-Tiruvayi-Nachiyar*, being the elder sister of the above-mentioned *Sethupathi*, ruled the country. When she had thus held the authority for six years the Nabob of Arcot, named Mahomed-Ali-Khan-Saheb-Bahader, conquered the Ramnad country, and imprisoned the female *Mutthu-Tiruvayi-Nachiyar*, who had before ruled, together with all her relatives; and, carrying them to Trichinopoly, put them into prison there. After having been imprisoned at that place for twelve years, the said female *Mutthu-Tiruvayi-Nachiyar* died. Subsequently in S. S. 1701, A. D. 1780, by order of the English government at *Chennapatnam* (Madras), the Arcot Nabob, Mahomed-Ali-Khan-Saheb, sent *Mutthu-Ramalinga-Sethupathi*, the son, and *Mangalesvara-Nachiyar*, the daughter, of the before-mentioned *Mutthu-Tiruvayi-Nachiyar;* and both sister and brother ruled together. In the fifteenth year of this rule the English Government put *Ramalinga-Sethupathi* into prison, on account of his very bad conduct; and, causing him to be taken away from Ramnad, confined him at Trichinopoly. The daughter of his eldest sister, *Mangalesvara-Nachiyar*, was crowned in S. S. 1716, A. D. 1795; and her government continues down to the present time.

THE END.

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